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A high mind at St James's

Blair Worden

ROY STRONG
Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance
264pp. Thames and Hudson. £12.95.
0 500 01375 6

The death from typhoid in 1612 of Henry Prince of Wales, the heir to James VI and I, brought one of the most significant revisionary interests in English history to an end. Although only eighteen, he had developed political ambitions and abilities that contemporaries observed to be "far beyond his years". Particularly after his investiture in 1610, which gave him an independent household at St James's, he offered alternatives to the unadventurous policies and the decadent court of his father. While the king struggled to be Europe's peacemaker, the heirs to the Elizabethan war party viewed the prince as God's "chosen instrument to be the standard-bearer of his quarrel in these miserable times, to work the restoration of his church and the destruction of the Romish idolatry". While James debased the peerage and drew tame, extravagant "carpet" nobles to his court, Henry "would express himself best to love and esteem" those of "the titular nobility" who "were most anciently descended", urging them to renounce "ease" and to become, through martial accomplishments, "as glorious as their forefathers". After his death - like Sir Philip Sidney a generation earlier, in whose image his own was consciously moulded - he became a lost leader; for, as Bacon truly observed (in Latin), "the goodness of his disposition had awakened manifold hopes among numbers of all ranks, nor had he lived long enough to disappoint them". His posthumous role was enhanced by the political ineptitude and the Arminian policies of Charles I, the younger brother who succeeded him as heir. If only Henry had lived, claimed the MP Sir Simonds D'Ewes, "the church of God had not suffered so much shipwreck abroad as it hath done".

Henry's precocity extended not merely to politics but to the arts. This is the subject with which Sir Roy Strong is principally concerned, and he writes most interestingly about it. A wealth of fresh and telling detail illuminates Henry's efforts to introduce Continental tastes and standards into England, his patronage of leading artists, his promotion of classical architecture and of avant-garde masques and



Isaac Oliver's portrait of Henry Prince of Wales as a man-at-arms, with warriors à l'antique seen beyond, (about 1612) is reproduced from the book reviewed here. Payments in the account to Oliver indicate that he also acted as an agent for the purchase of pictures for the prince.

festivals and gardens, and his collections of paintings and books, of bronzes and medals. Unfortunately (though understandably) Strong's attempt to relate the prince's artistic aspirations to the political context to which sees them to belong is incomplete. The material

world where power and imagination met remains elusive.

It is not Strong's fault that Henry's inner self remains elusive too. Even now around him found him "most secret even from his youth", "of a close disposition not easy to be known".

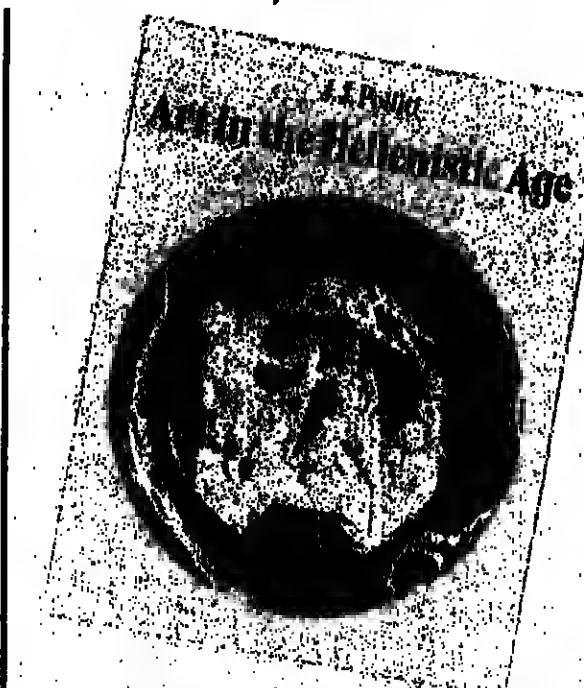
"He was of an high mind, and knew well how to keep his distance." Contemporaries noticed his hesitant speech and inflexible will - characteristics he shared with Charles, who, however, lacked the elder brother's military tastes, his interest in shipbuilding and navigation, his enthusiasm for colonization, his belief in practical education, his lively curiosity about the world around him. We might expect a teenage heir to have been run by his advisers, but Bacon seems to have been right: "in his court no person was observed to have any ascendancy over him, or strong interest with him".

The prince got on badly with his father and tussled persistently with him for power and patronage. Yet there are traps for the historian here, for the loyalties and rivalries of Jacobean politics were too fluid and complex to permit straightforward polarization. Of the major politicians only Sir Walter Raleigh, broken and imprisoned, attached his cause to Henry in opposition to James. There is little sign that Henry was involved in the factional struggles that attended the decline of the Earl of Salisbury from 1610. Most of Henry's counsellors were appointed by the king, whose allocation to the heir of such survivors of the Essex party as Southampton and Sir Thomas Chelmer may have been a canny move. The existence of a second court probably strengthened rather than weakened a monarchy to which Essex's men were more deferential under James than under Elizabeth. It may be that by succeeding Essex as patron of the increasingly confident study of Tacitus and Machiavellian thought and history, an activity represented at his court by Sir John Hayward and Sir Robert Dallington among others, the prince unwittingly tamed a movement that would otherwise have become republican.

Even the moral contrast between the king's court and the prince's may have been too boldly drawn. The supposedly Puritan rules for the government of Henry's household were conventional enough, and in any case their wording appears to indicate that the king had a hand in their composition. Henry's Puritanism is not in doubt. He "hated popery with a perfect hate", as did his chaplains; he was keen on the exaction of recusancy fines; and he took a dim view of swearing. Yet now that we no longer think of Jacobean Puritanism as an "opposition" movement it is hard to regard his wish to reform the Church of England as subversive.

What was much more contentious was his zeal for a militantly Puritan foreign policy. He revered Henry IV of France, whom he re-

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portedly called his "second father" and apparently intended to assist in the mysterious "Grand Design" against the Catholic powers that was arrested by the French king's assassination in 1610. That event produced a realignment of both English and Continental diplomacy which has been explored from an English perspective by Simon Adams and which a more rounded study of the prince than Strong's would also examine, for James's heir now became "the person on whom the eyes and hopes of all the reformed churches are fixed". Strong writes perceptively about the Italian and French contexts and interests of Henry's advisers, and has helpful information on James's plans to find a Catholic wife for him in Italy, but there is no adequate account of the alternative schemes for a French match or of the dealings of Henry's friends with Dutch and German Protestants.

In the months before his death Henry was full of plans for a journey to the Continent, where he would form a common front with the Protestant leaders, the Elector Palatine and Maurice and Henry of Nassau. The proposal was hidden from his father. Its details are hidden from us, partly it seems because papers of Henry which "showed him to have many strange and vast conceits and projects" were destroyed at his death, and partly too perhaps because the author of a key early source for Henry's life, his Treasurer Sir Charles Cornwallis, was probably his only senior adviser to be unsympathetic to his foreign ambitions. So we are left largely to guess at the meaning of the prince's friend Sir John Holles, who

claimed in 1613 that had the prince lived six months longer "we were once again the nation among nations, a terror to God's enemies and ours".

On politics and diplomacy Strong's book, which at one moment he calls a "substantial biography", often has less substance - though it always has more shape - than its predecessor, Thomas Birch's life of 1760. It is on Henry as patron of the arts that Strong comes into his own. To him the artistic policy of the monarchy of Elizabeth and James is a record of inactivity, backwardness and timidity. Henry was different. In aesthetic as in foreign policy he was the heir to Sidney and Essex, like them combining a hatred of Italian religion with a love of Italian art, and like them assuming Protestantism to be the ally of Humanism. Within a budget which (sighs the Director of the V and A) was always too narrow, the prince strove to emulate, and to lure artists from, the courts of the Medici in Tuscany and Rudolf II in Prague. Had he survived, the monarchy would have become the centre of artistic distinction in England as on the Continent. Admittedly it filled that role under Charles, but Charles's court culture was escapist, self-adulatory, and fatally associated with Catholicism. Henry's would have been better attuned to the national will. It would also have been tougher and more down-to-earth, and would have encouraged not only the visual arts but mathematics, geometry and the art of fortification - interests which again show Henry's resemblance to Sidney and which also, in Strong's view, connect him to the intellectual legacy of John Dee.

Grey eminences

Katherine Duncan-Jones

MARGARET PATTERSON HANNAY (Editor) *Silent but for the Word: Tudor women as patrons, translators, and writers of religious works* 304pp. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press; distributed by Eurospan. £27.50. 087338315 X

What did Elizabeth I really think of her father, Henry VIII? It has often been suggested, most powerfully by Elizabeth Jenkins in *Elizabeth the Great* (1958), that Henry's executions of her mother, when she was one, and her step-mother, Catherine Howard, when she was eight, scarred Elizabeth emotionally, making her determined, in her heart of hearts, never to marry. The best article in this collection of essays, edited by Margaret Patterson Hannay, *Silent but for the Word*, on literary women of the Renaissance, is Anne Lake Prescott's "The Pearl of the Valais and Elizabeth I", which produces some details that may support this theory. It is a fine example of the rewards occasionally to be won through precise and unremitting scholarly toil. Professor Prescott has scrutinized Princess Elizabeth's version of Marguerite of Navarre's *Le miroir de l'âme pecheresse*, a work dismissed by J. B. Neale (and many others) as "excessively dreary". Some striking points emerge. One is the eleven-year-old Elizabeth's failure even to mention Marguerite, who had friendly diplomatic relations with Henry VIII at just the time that she was working on the translation, a New Year's gift to Catherine Parr in 1544/5. Other oddities are small deviations from the original in what is on the whole a relentlessly literal translation. For instance, where Marguerite praised God for being unlike the kind of earthly husband who puts unfaithful wives to death, Elizabeth confuses the pronouns, so that it is not clear who is being put to death by whom. "Tours" is rendered "prison" rather than "tower", and several lines on parental and filial affection are omitted or muted. Extraneous evidence of personal feeling from devotional literature in this period is pretty uphill work - especially when the text is a translation - but Prescott's analysis, careful and understated, suggests either that whoever supervised Elizabeth's task felt certain passages in the *Miroir* to be "sensitive", or that Elizabeth herself was disturbed by some of Marguerite's images of God as generous father and husband.

A quotation from Elizabeth's reflections as a young woman at Woodstock which closes another essay, Valerie Wayae's on Vives, testifies to the power of religion to console her in "the bitterness of this miserable life". A synthesis of recent work on Elizabeth's personal devotions might prove yet more suggestive. We must be grateful to current feminist enthusiasms for having provoked a fresh look at the child Elizabeth, as well as at such figures as Catherine Parr, Lady Jane Grey and Viscountess Falkland. Among other topics in this volume, Margaret Roper's *Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster* is studied by Rita Verbrugge; Anne Askew's self-portrait - that is, her character as revealed in the accounts of her interrogation before she was burned at Smithfield - is investigated by Elaine V. Beilin; in an essay with an excessive crop of errors or uncorrected misprints, Jon V. Quitslund looks at Spenser's possible relations with the "patronesses" (sic in all headlines) of the *Powrie Hymnes*; the late Diane Bormstein, on the *Discourse of Death*, is the most illuminating of the three contributors who write on the Countess of Pembroke; and Barbara K. Lewalski offers a literary commentary on the poems of Aemilia Lanier.

Gary F. Waller rounds off the book with a banner-wagging essay written "as a man and also as a would-be feminist", in which he suggests, disconcertingly, that the "methodology" of most of the contributors is not sufficiently advanced. I disagree. Most contributors have tackled their subjects with care and penetration. The trouble is that the material considered stubbornly refuses to yield up the kind of thing feminists are looking for. However bright or subtle the lights beamed on to them, most of these Renaissance women remain in blurred monochrome, less vivid even than the bluntly carved woodcuts that accompany their works. Even the few who enjoyed relatively prominent positions in the world of letters, such as the Countess of Pembroke and the three Cooke sisters, remain, in their translations and letters, greyly indistinct presences. Elizabeth alone shines out not because of the quality of her own prose, but because we know so much about her already, and have a ready-made picture of her in which Anne Lake Prescott has added some fine brush strokes.

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Strong's thesis is powerfully argued and supported. The artistic history of earlier Jacobean England indeed looks different and more rewarding when we cease to regard it as a mere precursor of the Caroline age. Attention can be spread beyond Inigo Jones, whose fortunes declined rather than rose under Henry, to his innovative rivals, the Italian Constantino de' Servi and the Huguenot Salomon de Caus, who proved not to have Jones's bright English future. From Strong's book, and from Graham Parry's *The Golden Age Restored* which anticipates some of its arguments, we can learn to place Henry's patronage and collections in a distinctive period of English taste which was also shaped (though Strong would say to a smaller extent) by his mother, Anne of Denmark, whose sensibility he inherited, and by leading subjects, above all perhaps the Earl of Salisbury.

The emphasis by Strong on "the intellectual polarity between the king's and the prince's courts" creates some difficulties, not least in his account of Ben Jonson, whom he thinks of as very much "the king's poet" and whose persistent employment by Henry he is pressed to explain. He argues interestingly that the artistic coherence of Jonson's texts for *Borriars* and *Oberon*, works written for Henry, is undermined by the playwright's anxiety to please both a peace-loving king and a war-loving prince.

The claim appears to rest, however, on an implausible attribution to Henry of a love of war and glory for their own sake. The militant tradition in English foreign policy was always

tempered by a Humanist recognition of the evils of gratuitous warfare, which may be enough to explain some of the textual tensions which Strong observes. In general Strong is less assured on writers and writing than on the visual arts. He declines the admittedly monumental challenge of identifying the additions made by Henry to the library he inherited, and misses the opportunity created by E. C. Wilson's spadework and by Denys Kay's more recent study to illuminate the prince's literary patronage.

What would have become of Henry? Not all Strong's readers will share his apparent faith in the continuity between adolescent and adult inclinations. Would the prince's artistic preferences have remained constant? The durability of his political opinions must be a more open question still. It was only in adulthood, after all, that Charles weaned of wars and Puritans and parliaments. Even if Henry's militancy had lasted it is doubtful whether his policies would have won wider support than his brother's, unless presented with a tact of which he seems to have shown a little promise. The reign of Henry IX would certainly have been different from that of Charles I, but would it have been any more stable?

Even the most circumspect appraiser of Strong's arguments should find his book very useful and very enjoyable. It is, as it needs to be, extensively illustrated, though I am sorry there was not room for the contemporary drawing of Henry's investiture or for the superb Greenwich armour presented to the Prince of Brunswick.

Alienation from afar

David Stevenson

MAURICE LEE
The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-37
288pp. University of Illinois Press. £19.75.
0252011368

Maurice Lee is developing an odd habit of giving his books titles which reflect interpretations or approaches that the books are in fact intended to controvert. In *Governments by the Pen: Scotland under James VI and I* (1980) he demonstrated clearly that James's famous generalization about being able to govern Scotland successfully as an absentee, by writing letters to the privy council in Edinburgh, was a highly misleading simplification. Now, in *The Road to Revolution*, he points out that previous treatments of the first twelve years of Charles I's reign in Scotland have tended to dwell on the features of the period "that were the most prominent causes of the troubles that erupted thereafter". This is true, and a political study of these years in their own right is long overdue. But the title suggests the very approach to them that Professor Lee is challenging.

Taken together, the two books provide for the first time a full political history of Scotland in the first decades of absentee government under the union of the crowns, and the dividing point between them marks the greatest discontinuity of the period. In essence, 1625 sees the change from the last king of Scotland who was a Scotsman to the first who was an Englishman. For all his faults and his tendency to believe things English to be superior to things Scots, James VI remained up to his death distinctively Scottish in outlook and manners with an understanding of his native countrymen and how to rule them. Charles might be Scottish in blood, and was in fact the last British sovereign to be born in Scotland, but he was entirely English in his attitude to the Scots. Indeed, he carried the cold formality of manners for which England was notorious to extremes which even upset many south of the border.

The results of Charles's determination to anglicize Scotland, especially in religion, are well known, but Lee shows that his reign was not a road that ran downhill all the way to disaster. He divides it into three phases. 1625-7 saw a calamitous beginning by arrogant and arrogant young king who thought he only had to issue orders to be obeyed. Through his Revocation, which threatened the property rights of many landowners, he alienated many

of the most powerful men in the kingdom. But there followed a phase of settlement and consolidation in 1628-33, when many of the fears of the nobility were quieted and the régime showed a new tendency to moderate its policies and to try to explain them. This temporary respite Lee attributes to the earl of Menteith, a man of no great political ability, ambition or energy who none the less fulfilled a function which no other politician in the reign succeeded in doing, by being at once trusted by the great landowners of Scotland and listened to by the king. Thus a fragile link was forged between the king in London and the men who still dominated society in Scotland. But in 1633 Menteith was suddenly disgraced; his genealogical dabblings into his family connections with the dynasty over two centuries before gave his enemies an opportunity to accuse him of arguing that he had more right to the throne than Charles himself. Once Menteith's restraining influence on Charles was removed, and he had no adviser who could persuade the Scots nobility to trust him, the acceleration towards disaster was fast. The 1637 riots against Charles's religious innovations led to the Scottish rebellion which destabilized all three kingdoms.

The importance given to the previously shadowy figure of Menteith is the major novelty of interpretation in this book, and it is on the whole convincing. But the idea that Menteith could have prevented disaster had he not fallen from power, a counterfactual proposition which admittedly Lee presents with great circumspection, is not convincing. Lee himself identifies Charles's disastrous visit to Scotland in 1633 as perhaps the decisive contribution to the ultimate collapse of his power, and it is hard to see how Menteith's influence could have made that visit a success. The king and his Scottish subjects had been finding it difficult to get on together when absentee rule kept them hundreds of miles apart, and when they met this simply confirmed and strengthened mutual dislike and misunderstanding; Menteith as a sort of marriage guidance counsellor caught in the middle could not have averted this.

Professor Lee's book, another major contribution by him to our understanding of early modern Scotland, does nothing to redeem Charles I from the strictures of previous Scottish historians. James I, assassinated in 1637, has been brilliantly categorized as "an angry man in a hurry", temporarily restrained in 1628-33 by Menteith, and ultimately he paid the same penalty as his ancestor.

Suffering and creating

A. S. Byatt

ELAINE SCARRY
The Body in Pain: The making and unmaking of the world
385pp. Oxford University Press. £23.
0193036018

This book starts from the proposition that we have a limited and inexpressive vocabulary for communicating the nature of bodily pain. The aspect of this incapacity that particularly interests Elaine Scarry is its relationship to the exercise and language of political power, particularly in those areas where this power arrogates to itself the right to inflict pain on the bodies of others. So the first two long sections of the book are devoted to studies of torture and of war, subsumed under the heading "Un-making" and steadily characterized as "the deconstruction of creation". Professor Scarry sees men and women, when not in pain, as by nature inventive, imaginative in creating "artefacts" which may be either mental or material. After a discussion of the relations between pain and imagining, she moves to what she sees as the truly human and civilized functions of "making". Her two extended analyses of human making concern the invention of the Judeo-Christian God, whom she characterizes as himself an Artefact, "the pure principle of creating", and Karl Marx's exploration of the essential value of material artifice and its derivation from the creating human mind.

Crucial to Scarry's mode of argument is what she calls the "language of agency" - that is, crudely, the "transference" of the description of pain from the suffering body to the wounding weapon (we commonly describe pain as burning, hammering, piercing). From there, she asserts, it is a short step to stippling the weapon of its associations of private anguish and enshrining it in a public iconography of power or control. This in turn allows us to accept certain public and essentially fictive descriptions of activities such as torture or war which lose sight of the suffered injury which is their central purpose. Scarry is concerned with the nature of fictions, which she opposes to lies plain and simple; she sees the fictive nature of our perceived reality as a particularly twentieth-century discovery - for good or evil. We have, she says,

been preoccupied with identifying the presence of the human hand in constructs that were not always in earlier centuries recognised as human creations (not only is God a fiction, and law a fiction, but childhood is a fiction, sexuality is a fiction, even "wilderness" has been persuasively identified as an invented construct).

But, she asserts, "very little enquiry into the nature of fictions has actually occurred, and thus creation - which will eventually come to be understood as having moral and ethical import at least as great as what in earlier centuries was ever engaged in questions of 'truth' - is at present barely understood".

The book is large, ambitious, intricate and alternately illuminating, baffling and irritating. Scarry's own lively and humane imagination operates throughout: she faces pain resolutely, but sees it in a perhaps limited way as the result of stupidity or lack of proper imagination on the part of those who inflict it. Her chapter on torture concentrates on how human artefacts that might be thought to protect the body or subscribe to its comfort - doors, windows, baths, plastic bottles - become implements for its deconstruction. Her view of the torturer is of a fundamentally stupid man who supposes that the "intelligence" he procures through inflicting pain is of greater importance than what he inflicts. "For the torturers, the sheer and simple fact of human agony is made invisible, and the moral fact of inflicting that agony is made neutral by the feigned urgency and significance of the question." This may well be too simple. Nowhere in this whole exploration of pain does Scarry discuss *Schadenfreude*, or the perverse pleasure that some people take in others' suffering. She does not deal with what-evar emotions brought the Victorian crowds out to see the public hanging of petty thieves; she does not, in the chapter on war, discuss the bloodlust which overcomes fighting men. She deals in areas of the rational and the deficient in rationality. Her explanations are social. This explains why Sada appears only once in the

index to this book, and then as the originator of lists of torturing implements, rather than as an expert in anguish. Frigid, too, appears very selectively and infrequently. Like Sade he is cited as the originator of a list of artefacts - in his case "extensions of the human phallus, dream sticks, dream vultures, materialized pipes, hats, drills, swords, skyscrapers, obelisks and rockets". He appears also in the chapter on war where he is quoted as observing that during a war there is "a massive depression of the population at home, which he attributes to the sudden satiation of lies".

Scarry is very good on the fictions engendered by the state of war - she deconstructs the language of national identity, protection of borders and interests, and of the soldiers' "consent" to be injured or killed, with a calm patience which is most rewarding. She discusses the ontological difference between "longing for one's country" and "killing for one's country" and observes that the land for which one kills is essentially fictive, desired not actual - a "united Ireland", a "safe-bordered Israel", for instance. Furthermore wars are fought to establish the "truth" of one country's set of constructs and the untruthfulness of those of the opposing side. She proposes that such disputes be settled with contests that do not include injury to bodies - tennis, say, or weaving contests, after which the winners' values shall be declared to have triumphed. It may be that the Olympic Games, and others, do present such contests in little - but *Schadenfreude* ensures the presence of Munich terrorists, or more unequivocally, football hooligans, whom she does not consider. She is careful to distinguish between the fictions of war and the stupidity of torture. She claims that nuclear war, because it affects those who do not share the beliefs of either agent or patient, and cannot consent to the use of their bodies, conforms to the model of torture rather than to that of conventional war.

She says, very finely, in her introduction, that "the vocabulary of 'creating', 'inventing', 'making', 'imagining' is not in the twentieth century a morally resonant one: 'imagining' for example is usually described as an ethically neutral or amoral phenomenon". Her own work, at its best, does much to reassert the value that the Romantics saw in the imagination, as an essentially human extension of perception and judgment. Her account of the Israelites' invention of their Divine Artefact is derived from that of Feuerbach, who saw the imagination as the essential creative force, in love, morals and theology. This imagined God begins as an explanation of human hurt and pain, but becomes identified also with the sufferers and the suffering. Scarry is fond of paradox and opposing terms - stupidity and intelligence-gathering, or here "divine immortality" (the wilful and repeated infliction of human hurt) perceived as the revelation of his *superior morality*.

At times in these sections her argument is more ingenious than clear or convincing. She is excited by the neo-sacrifice of Isaac, which she perceives traditionally as a step forward from divine immortality - but her accounts of the functions of knife and altar (artefacts, tools, weapons) and of Isaac as the representation of

the exposed interior of Abraham, Abraham's essentially *private* capacity for pain, fail to carry conviction. So also does the characterization of the Cross as a weapon with "only one end", a blade without a handle, an instrument of execution which does not record the place of the agent. I don't see how the Cross differs in this respect from the rack or the Iron Maiden. (Its resemblance to the suffering body has indeed made it into a "middle term" between punishment and suffering, to use Feuerbach's phrase for the image-making imagination, but this is not Scarry's point.)

Her account of Marx's perception of the value and intricacy and creativity of human artifice, and of the ways in which an unjust society can cause this artifice to be perceived as pain or deprivation is much more moving. Materialism is not a dull restriction on the spirit; it is its glory, and some of Scarry's best writing describes human works in this light, the marvellous new skins we weave, extensions of our bearing and vision we contrive, shelters and supports we build for our fragile bodies. One of the great virtues of this book is the intimacy of its illustration, its making-solid of its imagined world. Scarry writes beautiful, surprising lists of things - one of the best is her account of Marx's account in *Das Kapital* of the reconstructed clay of bricks, of lines of thread arranged in lace, of tiny wheels becoming human watch-time, of messy rags constituting paper and thought.

This is not an easy book to read. It is very dense, and there is a perpetual slipping from powerful and convincing argument to dubious elaboration of certain central ideas. It accepts too rapidly and playfully the equivalence of mental constructs and wrought objects in the external world, subsuming both under "artefacts" without deconstructing this metaphor. Its deliberately innocent reduction of the activities and purposes of armies to the infliction of "injury" is both impressive and too open to rejection. Professor Scarry wishes to change the very language in which we discuss political justice and the nature of morality. In this perhaps her account of "making" is ultimately more successful than her account of "un-making".

Her peroration is heroic. It finds in artefacts the evidence that

the imagination works to distribute the facts and responsibilities of sentence out onto the external world; that the imagination tends to be ethically uniform on the issue of sentence; that the imagination is bound up with compassion; that the imagination has an inherent tendency towards largesse and excess; that the work of the imagination is not here and there, now on, now off, but massive, continuous and ongoing, like a watchman patrolling the dikes of culture by day and by night; that the imagination forfeits its own immunity and is self-revising; and that, finally, the imagination is self-effacing and often completes its work by disguising its own activity.

This exaltation of Homo Faber, this expression of faith in the maker's capacity, does counter some recent gloomy accounts of the destructive pleasures of the Id, of innate aggression and harmful self-referring fantasy. *The Body in Pain* is a brave book, and worth persevering with.

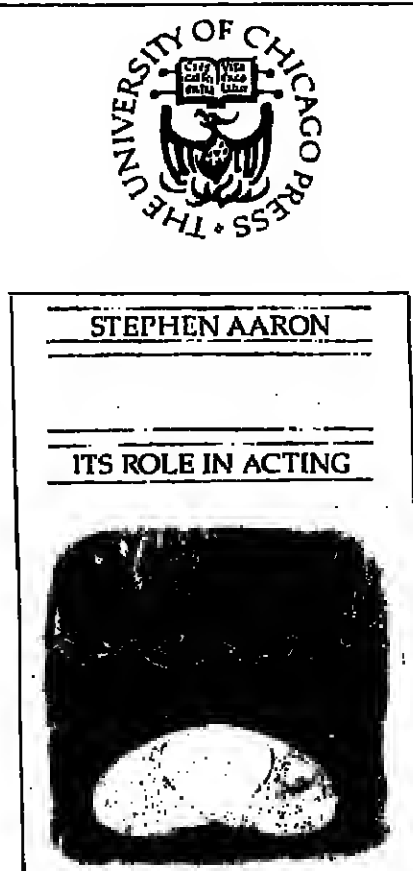
Her Walk in the West Country

Sheep mutter as she passes
And hurl their Roman heads
Down into moist grasses
Among the stone farmsteads.

Moss' wrinkles on gray walls.
Crows swarm the hedgerows, and roses
Drop desiccated petals
In yards a wall encloses.

Her father is the leaf
Curled in the stone gutter
As she walks with her grief
By meadows where sheep mutter.

DONALD HALL



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The music of what happened

Peter Williams

GERALD ABRAHAM (Editor)
The New Oxford History of Music
Volume VI: Concert Music 1630-1750
786pp. Oxford University Press. £40.
019363063

It seems to be inevitable – or is it simply old-fashioned? – for good scholarly histories to be written not to convey "what it was like" in a particular era but to give a directory of events useful for professional teachers or students in the subject. What people did, as known from extant sources, is the most that is traced. And then only traced, of course: there is no real filling in. Without some intimacy of approach in a history book, looking at things from the inside, all you get is a gazetteer, no more and no less. Gerald Abraham, the editor of *The New Oxford History of Music*, Volume Six, is a man of such authority that he can be sure he knows this already. In following Sir Jack Westrup as editor and seeing through a volume that must have been over twenty years in the making, he was the ideal choice. His own chapter on the English oratorio (written with Anthony Hicks) is without doubt one of the best in the book, not least in its most imaginatively chosen examples. The problem seems to me, however, to be the formula.

Ten sections, contributed by twelve well-known scholars, follow the genre pattern: Ode and Oratorio, Song and Duet, Instrumental Ensemble, Orchestral Music, Solo Concerto, Concerted Chamber Music, Solo Sonata, Keyboard Music, Harpsichord Music, Organ Music. Naturally, there are good reasons for this distribution and there are some superficial dangers: there is bound to be either overlap or official demarcation from time to time; some things will have to appear here because there is nowhere else in *NOHM* for them to go (Organ

Music, for example, cannot be considered "Concert Music"); some will be excluded because they appear elsewhere (secular songs as performed in Italian philharmonic societies – "concerts" by some definitions); and indeed the title itself seems to me no happier than Westrup's original "Growth of Instrumental Music" – less so, if anything, despite the need to include vocal and choral music.

At the same time, there are some happy consequences of the distribution. The editor allows the rather disparate authors to preserve both a reasonable consistency of approach and a degree of individuality; the English authors (about half) keep their right to express opinions. In fact, the whole is very English in several ways: the generous music examples speaking for themselves; the mere opinions apparently pointless but in fact rather instructive (as W. Emery's view that the Schubert chorales "are much less effective than the originals"); the refreshing absence of "isms" and fancy *geistlich* ideas (one wonders how a scholar of any other nation would have said so succinctly of Handel's *Sonson*, "the sexual element was just right: seduction attempted and repulsed"); and an interest in ideas unstified by heavy musicological footnotery (bibliographical references in the text go to about 1981).

Of course, these qualities have reverse sides. Like the editor himself, Philip Radcliffe knows (as most of the world seems not to know) that scholarship is not the same thing as pedantry; but he ought, for example, to give a better idea of the gap in time (and purpose, and instrumentation) separating Bach's two sets of keyboard variations. The item-by-item technique of some of the authors, particularly Walter Kolneder for string music, Ernest Mayer for chamber, John Caldwell for keyboard, though often shot through with intimate observation, is essentially very unimpressive in its priorities. Too many parts of the repertoire are given comparable weight and the truly significant

is not stressed enough. One could study these sections carefully and still come away without any clear idea to what extent Frescobaldi and Corelli were so immensely influential in their fields that "influence" is not even an adequate term.

But, again, it is the formula of such books that seems to me the problem. Questioning the aptness of the title or the genre plan of the whole is not a quibble but a matter of fundamental approach. Take the question of including organ music under "Concert Music". Ever since 1450, a few major churches in Europe had frequent organ recitals for, one imagines, the strolling bourgeoisie; then there were the public auditions for organists-applicants; and there were improvisation contests. Now while a history written on the genre plan does not prevent a discussion of this tradition, it does not make the discussion effective, tucked away as it will be in the coverage of some genre or other. Imagine a topic, "The Emergence of Public Concert Traditions": one could include many types of music, vocal, instrumental, keyboard, secular, sacred, etc. It needs a more widely alert and knowledgeable author, perhaps, one able to scan; without such an author, students and general readers will not be able to scan either.

However, the difficulties of conveying "what really happened" are much too severe for the solution to be simply a presentation by topic rather than by genre. Take another example: I would imagine that if you could have heard a song or a sonata or a toccata in 1630 and then moved on in time to hear similar pieces of 1750, three things would have struck you immediately. The timbres, the pitch and the tuning had changed – and, in my opinion, at a rate far greater than, say, sociological change over the same period. These three things are technical, and there is a limit to what conventional book-prose can do; but what is the alternative? If you write a history and do not convey the fact that

one of the biggest things ever to happen in Western music was the gradual dissolution of meantone tuning (at different paces in different countries across different genres), then you have not conveyed something without an understanding of which the rest is only background study.

One does not need to be a tuning-and-temperament freak (and there are such) to make this point; there are many such issues. Another example: worthy chapters on French vocal music (David Tunley), Italian string music (Kolneder) and string sonatas (Charles Hughes) list the composers and their chief works but give no hint that the nature of ensembles in the late seventeenth century was changing in a crucial way: *vz*, it became customary (but only after Lully and Purcell? What are the reasons for thinking so?) for the bass-line to be doubled at the octave below. What an important element this is in the evolution of string music! It would have struck a Chinaman or a gamelan-player immediately. Think, too, of the effect on a composer of hearing his local or native popular music (one thinks of Purcell, Clément, Bach, Arne); of being brought up to base his playing on improvisation (in one sense or another); of being suddenly hit with the French or Italian music. To have been "influenced" by Venetian concertos must mean more than turning to dashing ritornello shapes. In fact, just how dashing did so foreign a composer as Bach understand Vivaldi's style to be, considering he saw it first from written scores (or, probably, parts) and had not at that point heard Italian fiddlers?

In short, I feel that one is given only a few glimpses of "what really happened", what it was like for, say, the young Buxtehude or young Handel to grow up in very alert and open-looking musical environments, to choose in the way they did choose and to develop in the way (or to the extent) that they did develop.

Tragedy of the rough and ready

Robert Knight

NIKOLAI TOLSTOY
The Minister and the Massacres
442pp. Century. £12.95.
0091640105

In May, 1945, the province of Carinthia in southern Austria became, in the words of one British report, a "clearing house for all stragglers, struggling formations and refugees of all nationalities who require food and shelter". Among the many groups trying to reach Austria to surrender to the British were an auxiliary formation of von Lohr's Army Group E, 15th Cossack Cavalry Corps (and their German officers), various Yugoslav groups who – enthusiastically or reluctantly – had collaborated with the Germans, as well as a mass of civilian refugees. With the occupation zones of Austria still not decided upon, Tito's troops also moved over the border, in the hope of asserting their claim to "Slovene Carinthia", while Soviet and Bulgarian troops advanced from the east. Over the Austro-Italian border came the advance guard of 5th Corps of 8th Army, under the command of Lt-General Charles Keightley, and a larger group of about 25,000 Cossacks of the "Kasachi Stan", as they were known, who had been settled in and around Tolmezzo to defend the southern frontier of the Reich.

Within a month, some 45,000 Cossacks and 25,000 Yugoslav "dissidents" had been handed over to the Russians and Tito by the British. Though precise figures are unclear there is little doubt that many of the Yugoslavs were massacred shortly afterwards. The principal Cossack leaders, including such famous figures from the Russian Civil War as Peter Krasnov and Andrej Shkuro, were later executed in Moscow.

The Minister and the Massacres alleges that Harold Macmillan conspired to send these people to their doom at the behest of the Soviet

Counter-Intelligence Service (SMERSH). In doing so, says Nikolai Tolstoy, he deliberately contravened agreed British policy, since under the terms of the Yalta Agreement neither the 3,000 non-Soviet old émigrés among the Cossacks nor the Yugoslavs should have been returned. Moreover, in order to achieve his end, Macmillan went behind the back of Field-Marshal Harold Alexander at Allied Forces Headquarters, Caserta. It is hard to imagine more serious charges.

One reason Tolstoy fails to make them stick is that his understanding of the historical context is deeply flawed. The bloody complexity of Yugoslavia's war-time experience is reduced here to the Red-and-White simplicities of an apocalyptic struggle between Balshavian and Tsarism. Tito's partisans become no more than a group of ruthless terrorists pitted against both the civilian population and a group of noble freedom-fighters. General Rupnik, the leading collaborator with the Germans in Slovenia, is apparently (on the basis of whose opinion polls?) "widely respected by the Slovenian population". The Germans themselves were the "formidable protectors" of the Slovenian population [sic] and their departure at the end of the war meant that the "whole nation found itself threatened with extinction". Not surprisingly, an account of such eccentricity has no room for the Cossacks' brutal record in Russia, their help in suppressing the Warsaw uprising, or their depredations in Croatia, which the German plenipotentiary there considered "without parallel in German military history [sic] since at least the Thirty Years' war".

Tolstoy's lack of historical understanding is more than matched by the extravagance of his conspiracy theory. In order to do Stalin a favour Macmillan flew to Klagenfurt on May 13, 1945, hatched a plot with the more-or-less willing Keightley and Brigadier Toby Low and then proceeded to deceive, in turn, Keightley's superior officer, General Richard McCreery, at 8th Army HQ; Alexander and General Brian Robertson at Caserta; Winston Churchill

and the British Cabinet on his return to England; and the rest of the world ever since.

It is impossible in the space of a review to do justice to all the tendentious judgments, unfounded assumptions, non-sequiturs and sleights of hand Tolstoy uses to sustain this story. Despite cautioning us that "there will always remain a grey area into which no research can ever penetrate", he moves from the flimsiest evidence to the most breathtakingly confident conclusions (generally prefaced by a tell-tale preamble such as "The facts speak for themselves" or "There is in fact no doubt"). He sets great store by eye-witness accounts (often at second and third-hand) and subjects them to lengthy exegesis in order to extract confirmation of his thesis. For example, Krasnov's verbatim account of his interview with the Soviet Minister of State Security Merkulov, written after ten years in prison, is made to point the finger at Macmillan. In the absence of any other evidence, an account of a conversation given thirty-five years after the event provides Tolstoy with proof not only of the existence of Alexander's objections to the hand-overs but of the fact that he made them to Macmillan between May 22 and 25.

If there is a gap in the evidence there is always the standard fall-back line of the conspiracy theorist – suppressed evidence. For Tolstoy silence in the night is conclusive evidence that a guard-dog has been drugged. Unfortunately some of his "suppressed" documents have a habit of turning up in the voluminous records of the Public Record Office at Kew. After Macmillan had left Klagenfurt, for example, Keightley asked for authority ("on advice Macmillan") to send back the Cossacks. In his earlier *Stalin's Secret War* (1981) Tolstoy assured his readers that the reply to this request had been removed from the archives by a "powerful hand". It had not, and he now cites it. At least one of the items on his revised list of suppressed documents – a 5th Corps copy of Alexander's "New Army policy", reversing the policy of handing over of the Yugoslavs of June

4 – may be found in Kew (File no WO 170/4404).

The other side of this coin is Tolstoy's own cavalier approach to the evidence. Keightley's request of May 14 is cited selectively. A crucial telegram from McCreery of May 21 (asking Allied Forces HQ to send a representative to advise on the different nationalities in the area under his command) appears in mutilated form. There is constant reference to orders for the Cossacks to be individually screened – allegedly ignored by the conspirators – but not one is ever cited. Tolstoy asserts that on May 17 Alexander had forbidden the Cossacks and Yugoslavs to be handed over, whereas in reality he simply instigated the alternative policy of evacuating them.

But there are larger, more serious weaknesses in Tolstoy's account.

On May 10 the Red Army asked Keightley to hand over the leading Cossacks, including a number of émigrés. Tolstoy brushes aside the evidence that Keightley was quite ready to hand over at least some Cossacks (and Yugoslavs) before Macmillan came to Klagenfurt. On May 12 Keightley reprimanded Brigadier Patrick Scott for accepting the surrender of 15th Cossack Cavalry Corps, because "by our agreement with the Russians, the Cossacks should have been handed over to them and that [Scott's] action might produce some international incident". On the same day he told a Yugoslav commissar that he would "ensure that any formation which has wrongly surrendered to me instead of Tito will be returned to Tito".

Macmillan touched down in Klagenfurt at 10 am on May 13. No evidence is presented here that he had given the question of the Cossacks – much less that of the émigrés – any thought before he arrived. Previous Foreign Office instructions on the implementation of the Yalta Agreement had dealt with the nationals of the Baltic States and eastern Poland, now absorbed by the Soviet Union. But the tsarist émigrés had not been explicitly excluded in

Structure by numbers

Richard Langham Smith

ROY HOWAT
Debussey In Proportion: A musical analysis
239pp. Cambridge University Press.
Paperback, £12.95.
0521311454

Conscientious cataloguers should reflect a little before simply assigning this book to its obvious shelf of books on Debussy analysis. This is not because it does not belong there; indeed it does, as it is virtually alone in approaching the elusive work of this composer primarily through the music itself. In all but the most comprehensive of libraries, Roy Howat would have a shelf to himself, which is what he deserves since *Debussey In Proportion* (now reissued with minor mistakes – mostly equations – corrected) touches incidentally yet penetratingly on areas of a broader importance and less specialist appeal.

Broadly speaking, Howat finds in Debussy's music, and shows us in lucid detail, evidence of a conscious application of numerical structure on the part of the composer, mainly in the form of Golden Section principles and the closely related (but differently deduced) Fibonacci series. These, as he shows, affect not only the overall layout of certain important Debussy pieces, but also paragraph structures, and within the paragraph, that of the sentence and the phrase.

In the first place, this "thesis" – in the true sense of the word – must have been a gamble that paid off. Finding a hint of mathematical structures in one piece, Howat had to develop methods of examining his material, and, on doubt, to look long and hard at certain important works before reluctantly discarding them as irrelevant. To anyone concerned with the ways in which Golden Section principles turn up in the most unlikely places, Howat's work is of fundamental interest. Crucial too, is his development and criticism of the scant handful of forebears he had in approaching music through proportional analysis of this kind. The best known of these must be Leodval who, in a study of Barili, really put the approach on the

map. Through a rigorous questioning of Leodval's approach, Howat arrives at a methodology which is at once thorough, watertight and persuasive, and clearly presented in both text and diagram.

A large part of this persuasiveness is due to his holistic approach. As a pianist himself, Howat knows much of his material from the inside. As an editor of Debussy's music, he well knows the importance of the composer's notebooks and sketches in re-tracing the genesis and evolution of a particular work. Thus his analyses, unlike those of music theorists who separate themselves from musicology, are frequently those of a work in the process of change. On several occasions, it appears, Debussy altered things – added or subtracted a bar or two – to make his piece accord with this or that numerical sequence. Such an approach is infinitely more convincing than that of the analyst content to take his material as it comes from the library shelf. Furthermore, the reader is presented with revelatory glimpses of manuscripts and quoted letters so that only the most contrary of critics could find corners where the author might be accused of forcing his evidence.

It is questionable whether future analysts of Debussy will really add to our appreciation of the composer by discovering structures that Howat missed. The thesis has been proven and more than adequately substantiated. The chapter on "other evidence" may, however, open doors for further study. It deals with the evidence of a more widespread interest in proportional structures among diverse aesthetes, symbolists and critics of turn-of-the-century Paris – though, as Howat is the first to admit, he has only made a start in gathering evidence that numerology was in the air.

Our view of the Parisian artistic climate, as opposed, for example, to that of Vienna, may be markedly re-adjusted. For if we ever thought of French music as a "vague impressionism", and of the second Viennese school as holding the patent for the idea of replacing an ailing Romanticism with a new art underpinned with more cerebral principles, we will have to think again.

Reopening ears

Filippo Donini

BRUNO BARILLI
Il paese del melodramma
281pp. Turin: Einaudi. L26.000.

Musician, musicologist, war correspondent, journalist and writer, Bruno Barilli (1880-1952) was good at many things but excelled at only one: writing. A master of Italian prose, he was the co-founder in 1919, along with Baccelli, Cecchi and Cardarelli, of the monthly *La Ronda*, which was for four years the leading Italian literary review and, following the agitations and experiments of the Futurists and the followers of *La Voce*, preached a sober return to the classical tradition. Caught up in his day-to-day activities as music critic for *Il Tempo*, *Il Tevere* and several other daily papers in Rome and Milan, Barilli never had the chance to concentrate on a single, ambitious work. He probably also lacked the inclination for any such protracted effort: "I am a martyr to *dolce far niente*", he admitted. Consequently his published books were only collections of articles, though some of those articles are small masterpieces.

Reporting on a concert or an opera is for Barilli an opportunity to express his personal ideas and idiosyncrasies; he displays not only his taste and his critical judgment, but his conception of art, his vision of the world, his philosophy of life. There are lively digressions on his past, as well as savoury anecdotes and fantasies: all written in a language which is always brilliant, imaginative and ironic.

It is right that such articles should be preserved. In 1982 Einaudi reprinted two collections which first appeared in 1924 and 1928: *Delirium* and *Il sorcio nel violino*. Now it is the turn of *Il paese del melodramma*, which was first published in 1930. It reappears here together with a 1938 collection of "letters from Paris" (under the title *Parigi*). The editors of the volume, Luisa Viola and Luisa Avellani, have given the text the careful attention customary in scholarly editions of the classics, and no doubt Barilli, with his sense of humour and his tendency to self-abasement, would have

smiled to see the lists of variants appended with meticulous precision to each of his articles, showing how the text of an article in *Il Tevere* differs from that of the same article as printed in *Il Tempo*.

A profound knowledge of music, both as performer and composer (he wrote two operas and some chamber music) was the solid foundation on which Barilli's writings were grounded. Yet the lay reader is never embarrassed by an excess of technicalities, and reading him is always a pleasure. His subject-matter is the music that was performed in Italy – and in Paris – in the 1920s and 30s; mainly opera – Cimarosa, Bellini, Verdi, Puccini – are the composers most frequently considered and most generously praised, in keeping with Barilli's passion for the Italian operatic tradition. Modern composers, such as Strauss, Debussy and Stravinsky, are not dealt with at length, but one senses very clearly that Barilli is out of sympathy with them, and dislikes their innovations. He likes Moussorsky, however, and has some beautiful pages on *Kovachina*, a performance of which he attended in Paris. There is a long and amusing chapter also on Caselli, whose works inspire him to some of his most venomous jibes: "where his music passes henceforth no grass grows".

Luxuriant grass and wonderful flowers grow most abundantly under the feet of Verdi, for whom Barilli's admiration is unbounded. In an age when Verdi's star had faded, away in Italy, before that of Wagner, and the Italian intelligentsia found it fashionable, following D'Annunzio, to extol *Tristan* and to scorn *Traviata*, Barilli had the courage to swim against the tide and to recall Italians to the cult of their greatest modern composer. Verdi has in recent times had the formidable support in Italy of learned musicologists like Andrea Della Corte and Massimo Mila, and of one inspired writer, Gabriele Baldini, and since 1960 the appreciation of his music has been institutionalized in the *Bullettino* of the Istituto di Studi Verdiani. But it was Barilli who first reopened the eyes, or rather the ears, of the musical élite to the pleasures of *Rigoletto*, *Traviata*, *Aida*, which before that had been admired only by the gallery.

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previous instructions, as Tolstoy suggests.

Macmillan's decision to add a two-hour visit to Klagenfurt to his itinerary may surely have a less sinister explanation than a secret tip-off from SMERSH. He had originally travelled from Caserta in order to put McCreery and his other corps commander Harding "in the picture". Why should his visit to McCreery's other corps commander in Klagenfurt not have served exactly the same purpose?

The evidence on Macmillan's two-hour stay in Klagenfurt is not clear-cut. Shortly after he left, a signal referred to Macmillan's "advice" to return Soviet nationals. On May 23 a further signal (when the policy of hand-overs appeared under threat) referred to Macmillan's "verbal directive" to return them. Macmillan himself – in an unusual lapse from standard SMERSH procedures – published his own account in his diary, recording that "we have decided" to send back "Cossacks and White Russians". He also referred to "scrupulous adherence to the agreement in handing back Russian subjects". For Tolstoy the second statement is an obfuscation while the first is an admission of guilt. Why Macmillan should make such an admission in his diaries is not explained.

Confusion rather than conspiracy points to a more plausible explanation. The "White" Russians are referred to as separate from the Cossacks, which suggests that Macmillan had been told of the body of about 4,500 White Russian "Rogozhin Corps" (referred to here as the *Ruski Corps*). In other words, he was probably not referring to the Cossack leaders requested by the Red Army at all and may not even have learnt of the Soviet request. At all events it is not a "fact", as Tolstoy states, that "Macmillan admits he recommended compliance with the Soviet request".

Tolstoy asserts that the fate of the Yugoslavs was also decided on May 13. His argument rests on an inconclusive third-hand account by the United States political adviser at Caserta, Alexander Kirk, bolstered by much Tolstoyan egesis. In fact the crisis which prompted AFHQ to instruct Keightley to hand over all Yugoslavs "serving in German forces" was the news which reached them the day after Macmillan returned to Caserta. Some 200,000 Croat Domobrans, in German uniform, followed by many more civilians, were approaching the Austro-Yugoslav border at Bleiburg, hoping to enter Austria. It was McCreery who suggested that "Croats become Tito's show". Macmillan certainly supported the idea but Alexander did too. Tolstoy dismisses Alexander's support as a special case (rather a large one, it might be thought) and still persists in concluding that "Alexander consistently opposed the return of any Cossacks or Yugoslavs". In the event the Croat Army was pressurized into surrendering to Tito's Army at Bleiburg on May 13 and there is little doubt, even allowing for the exaggeration of some reports, that many of them suffered an appalling fate.

Although there is certainly evidence that those in command at 5th Corps were anxious to interpret as widely as possible the authority to return the Yugoslavs which they had now re-

ceived, the argument that Alexander was opposed to their return on principle cannot be sustained. On May 17 he ordered the evacuation of Chetniks and Croats to Italy, and Cossacks to northern Austria. Yet it was four days before McCreery pointed out the discrepancy in the instructions and it was McCreery on May 23 (not Low, as Tolstoy alleges) who specifically asked for the hand-overs to be extended to Chetniks, including civilians. After a confused exchange of telegrams Alexander agreed to the hand-overs, provided that no force was used. There was no direct veto on them until early in June.

What of the Cossacks? On May 14 AFHQ had instructed Keightley that "all Russians should be handed over to Soviet forces" and simultaneously that "steps should be taken to ensure that Allied POWs held in Russian area are transferred to us in exchange at the same time". It is clear that Macmillan supported the policy of hand-overs on his return from Klagenfurt but Tolstoy's tortured attempts to shift all responsibility away from the man who actually sent the signal (Robertson) are unconvincing as his picture of Macmillan in a state of "some trepidation" just Alexander discover what had happened in Klagenfurt.

Macmillan stated that he hoped to secure the return of Allied prisoners of war held by the local Soviet command. To Tolstoy (wrongly asserting that Macmillan claims to have negotiated an agreement for their return) this is a further link in the chain of deceit since "This 'exchange' did not take place". But what Tolstoy shows is merely that a general agreement to re-route returning POWs via Graz rather than Odessa had not yet been made by June 4. He fails to point out that a local agreement had indeed been made. If Tolstoy had found time to examine the 5th Corps War Diary (WO 170/4243 at the PRO) he would have found details of negotiations which took place on May 17 at Wolfberg between the British and a Major Skvortsov from the HQ of senior Soviet commander in Austria, General Tolbuchin. As a result of these talks 1,025 Russian ex-POWs were returned to Graz and it was also agreed that "the returning transport will bring back British ex-POWs in camps and hospitals in that area".

After May 14, as Tolstoy points out, Keightley had in his pocket the authority to hand over the Cossacks. Why did he wait a week before proceeding? Apparently because Alexander, with Macmillan temporarily out of Caserta, was at last able to move to bring them to safety. When Macmillan returned on May 22, however, Alexander succumbed to his "very persuasive" (unspecified) arguments and agreed to the return of the Cossacks. These arguments only remained persuasive as long as Macmillan was physically present in Italy. After his return to England Alexander could reassert himself. The mind boggles.

There is a simpler explanation. On May 10 the Red Army had requested the delivery of the leading Cossacks. But the suggestion for the delivery of the Cossacks en masse came from the British. On May 17 Skvortsov "agreed to the principle of evacuation" of all

Soviet citizens held by us of whatever category. In view of approximate numbers he would have to get further instructions and would fly to Vienna forthwith and be back within 3/4 days." On May 21 negotiations at Wolfberg resumed. The discussions on Corps level, in other words, which had started on May 17 on the basis of the authority granted by AFHQ on May 14, now took on a momentum of their own. The path they took 5th Corps along was, admittedly, different from that envisaged by Alexander on May 17. But it had nothing to do with Macmillan's flights between London and Caserta. And – apart from a temporary proviso about the use of force – there is no evidence that Alexander objected.

The return of all Soviet citizens (and – after some discussion – the possible use of force) was sanctioned by AFHQ. Yet the old émigrés not covered by Yalta were also returned. Why? The likely reason is both simple and unpalatable. To those chiefly responsible at 5th Corps Headquarters neither the fate of a number of collaborators (and their German officers) nor their precise legal status were of much concern when set against the desire to clear their area of an unwanted burden as quickly as possible and keep on good terms with the local Soviet commanders. Though they may not have anticipated the harrowing scenes which eventually took place, as British troops rounded up Cossack civilians and forced them on to trucks, both Keightley and Low had clearly decided that, if necessary, force would have to be used.

At the start of June the policy of hand-overs was revised. This change did not arise from Keightley's "extreme trepidation" . . . that the story might get out" or even from a visit by Alexander to Klagenfurt, as Tolstoy alleges. It came before Alexander's visit as a result of an intervention by the Senior Red Cross official, John Selby-Bigge. Concerned by the repatriations and the news of the shootings of those returned, he took the matter up with General McCreery at Udine. His account of their conversation underlines the rough-and-ready considerations which lay behind the hand-overs. According to Selby-Bigge's account, McCreery



Photograph from the Gulag pass of Nikolai Kramov, who was handed over to the Soviets by British troops on May 29, 1945. It is taken from the book reviewed here.

explained to me at length the difficulty of the military situation, which necessitated the clearance of a certain area without delay. Under such circumstances, hasty decisions and injustices were bound to occur. But my main thesis he accepted and regretted. He then gave me his assurance that "there would be no more forcible repatriation, and no repatriation at all without proper screening by qualified [military] Government officers".

For many the change came too late.

The highly questionable British role in the events of May 1945 is worthy of a careful, scrupulous and fair-minded historical examination. It does not receive one here.

In between wars

Nigel Clive

HEINZ RICHTER
British Intervention in Greece: From Varkiza to civil war, February 1945 to August 1946
Translated by Marion Sarafis
573pp. Merlin. £22.50.
0850363012

It is remarkable how much interest is still shown, more than forty years later, in the politics of the Greek Resistance during the German occupation, the subsequent fighting in Athens involving British troops in December 1944, and the degree of British responsibility for what followed in the post-war period leading up to the civil war. Heinz Richter's lengthy and closely researched analysis of what took place in the short time-span of a mere nineteen months has drawn on contemporary Greek sources and especially British documents released by the Public Record Office. It has been excellently translated by Marion Sarafis, the widow of the Commander-in-Chief of ELAS, the Communist-controlled resistance movement during the war.

The scene is set in the Introduction, with the unargued assertion that the December 1944 events "were not a long prepared communist revolution, but a carefully prepared military intervention by Churchill to crush the Greek Resistance in order to restore the semi-colonial dependence of Greece on Britain". There follows the even stranger supposition that if KKE, the Greek Communist Party, had won, the emerging Greek state would have been "liberal, democratic and socially just". This version accepts the claims that the victims of the Communist massacre at Peristeri were a rightist fake, and the omission from Richter's earlier book of the similar atrocities discovered at Kokkinea is repeated. Thereafter two main themes are developed: to deplore British policy from Churchill to Bevin, and to hold successive British governments responsible for the

evolution of events between what are commonly called the second and third rounds of civil war.

The book is not all, however, in this vein. If the reader perseveres, he will find a fair description of the sympathy of Sofianopoulos, the first post-war foreign minister, for his Communist opponents during and after the peace negotiations at Varkiza in February 1945, and legitimately critical accounts of the political and economic performance of the first two post-war governments under Plastiras and Voulgaris in the first half of 1945, and the third and fourth under Kanellopoulos and Sofoulis. At this time, Greece was a form of British protectorate, but the British Ambassador did not in fact, as was and still is so commonly supposed, have the powers of a High Commissioner. If Richter had referred to Macmillan's *War Diaries*, he would have seen how and why the Greek monarch was described as "the villain of the piece" and how one of ambassador Leeper's prime objectives was to keep him in London. Hence the juggling in the chronology of events laid down at Varkiza, in order to make elections precede a much-postponed plebiscite, in the vain hope that, given time, sufficient electoral support would be found for a Republican Centre government. But this conjuring trick produced no rabbit out of the hat, because the electorate still had vivid memories of Communist savagery two years earlier, with the result that the Populist Party was voted to power in an internationally supervised election in March 1946.

Richter's story swerves to the left in claiming that the British government could have altered the balance in Greece in favour of what he euphemistically calls "the democratic forces". But he sternly reproves Zakhariades, the leader of KKE, for "stumbling into civil war without any clear perspective". Moreover, his criticisms of Soviet policy, notably in its ham-handed intervention in the Security Council in January 1946 calling for British withdrawal, show some interesting worthwhorities.

In place of Franco

Angel Viñas

PAUL PRESTON
The Triumph of Democracy in Spain
274pp. Methuen. £14.95.
0416363504

It is not surprising that the transition in Spain from the Franco dictatorship to the present system of democracy should have aroused considerable interest. This was a fundamental change generated neither by a military coup (as in Portugal), nor by a military defeat (as in Argentina), nor by a disaster in international policy (as in the Axis countries or, more recently, in Greece), nor by pressure from outside. Between 1975 and 1982 a dictatorial régime, quasi-fascist in origin and brutally repressive – although not without its social legitimization and based on structures of power which had had thirty years in which to consolidate themselves – gave way to a modern democracy whose government today draws its support from a socialist party that had been an anathema to the old faithful of the Franco régime.

The political transformation in Spain has given rise to a copious literature. Most of this has originated in Spain itself, one of the most notable features of the transition having been the recovery of freedom of expression, which was minimal under Franco. Unfortunately, not many of the more scholarly analyses have been translated into English. A number of useful essays are available, admittedly, but up until now English readers have lacked, I believe, an analysis which combines a thorough knowledge of Spanish history and of *franquismo*, first-hand experience of the process of transition, a professional familiarity with the Spanish literature on the change-over, a rigorous academic perspective, a first-hand acquaintance with some of the major protagonists of the

transition and, last but not least, deep empathy with the outlook, the idiosyncrasies and the individual and collective actions of Spaniards in general and of the Spanish left in particular.

It is such a combination which distinguishes this new book by Paul Preston from much of what has been published in recent years on the transition in Spain. Its author is pre-eminent among British historians of the new generation for his knowledge of contemporary Spain and of Spaniards, and also one of the few foreign historians whose command of the Spanish language is well-nigh perfect. *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain* is primarily a political analysis of the transition and as such, in my opinion, the best book yet to have appeared in English on this topic. It is marked by a quality hard to define but which might tentatively be characterized as a very successful symbiosis between an objective analysis achieved from without and a perspective acquired from within.

Professor Preston does not waste too much time, in order to explain the origins of the transition, on yet another detailed analysis of Franco's long reign. His book begins to all intents and purposes in the crucial year of 1969, when Franco appointed Prince Juan Carlos his successor, as Head of the State which had come into being after the Civil War thirty years before. In twenty brilliant pages Preston describes the internal contradictions of the dictatorial system which had already, in 1969, to face up to the physical decline of its founder. As Preston rightly points out, the most significant of these contradictions centred on the time-lag that existed between a society in which an urge to modernize had come from the economic growth experienced in the late 1950s and 60s and the immobility of the political machinery created by the dictatorship. In its efforts to close this gap the régime began to break up. Fidelity to its institutions was replaced by a preoccupation with the future

among the more farsighted sectors of Spanish capitalism and – this was fundamental – of the civil service itself. The earlier transformation in the country's social structure, with the re-launching of the labour movement and of regional movements, had created conditions in which those political groupings most in favour of maintaining *franquismo* found their strategy being challenged: the Falange, that rump of the dictatorship's initial compromises with fascism, the armed forces and the security apparatus.

Preston's account brings out the essential role played by the King in the confrontation between the two main alternatives which emerged once Franco's physical decline became apparent: a strategy of immobilism, involving merely rhetorical and superficial changes; and a strategy of rupture, supported by the opposition to the dictatorship, especially on the socialist and communist left. The confrontation was made sharper by the assassination of Admiral Carrero Blanco – the guarantee of the system's continuation – and by a crisis in the Spanish economy, which meant that the dictatorship could not preserve its legitimacy by means of an improvement in the standard of living, as had occurred in earlier years.

Preston acknowledges the importance of the years of "continuity", in 1975–6, under the premiership of Carlos Anas Navarro. The very inadequacy of the reforms instituted in this period led a substantial number of Francoist bureaucrats and businessmen into the camp of those bent on more substantive changes. These were introduced in the years 1976–8 under Adolfo Suárez, thanks to the sacrifices agreed to by the left which enabled the break with the past to be formally ratified. The process was not an easy one: both in its conception and in its implementation it was influenced by the dialectic between those sectors with the greatest vested interest in the past, who saw

elements of the armed forces as the spearhead of a desired reaction, and the terrorism of the far left, Basque and others.

After 1978 the process of change slowed down and Suárez's star began to set. Preston describes in meticulous detail the contradictions of the Suárez government's reforms and its collapse, culminating in Suárez's own resignation, the attempted coup of February 1981, and the inability of Calvo-Sotelo's government to consolidate democracy. He carries his analysis down to the elections of October 1982, which saw the triumph of the socialists. The transition was over.

In sum, this book is essential reading for whoever wants to understand Spain today and its protagonists, both individual and collective. In the best British tradition, recent politics here becomes history.

Volume 60 in the World Bibliographical Series is *Spain*, compiled by Graham J. Shields (340pp. Oxford: Clio Press. £42.50. 1.85109 003 7). The volume, say the publishers, is "the first fully annotated English-language guide to sources on all aspects of Spanish life, culture and society throughout history". The forty-two sections of the bibliography include over 1,000 titles, most of them recently published works in English, together with a sprinkling of works in Spanish deemed of particular interest to an English readership. They include *Constitución española: edición comentada*, a collaborative work on the 1978 changes to the constitution, published in 1979 by the Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, Madrid; and *Las constituciones de España* by Jorge de Esteban (1982), which aims to provide both student and general reader with an introduction to Spanish constitutional history. Among works on politics and political parties in post-Franco Spain cited are *The Basque Insurgents: E.T.A. 1952–1980* (1984) by Robert P. Clark and Victor Aba's *The Communist Party in Spain* (1983).

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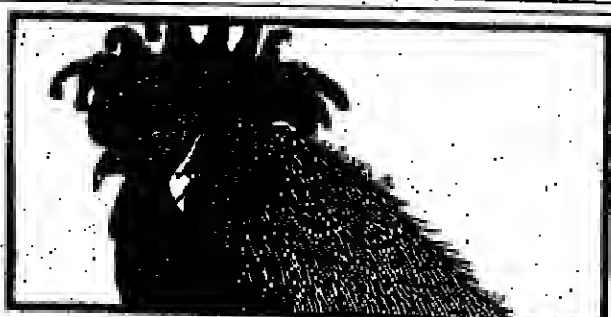
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Patient before pathology

Nesta Roberts

CONSTANCE BARNINGTON SMITH
Champion of Homoeopathy: The life of
Margery Blackie
185pp. Murray. £12.50.
0719542614

I would not trust it where a rapid shock to the system is necessary (as in the case of sudden inflammation or fever), but in any chronic affection I really would.

Most sensible people would agree that homoeopathy is better than the over-prescription of modern powerful and dangerous drugs and sedatives of tranquillizers in all but the few cases of serious organic disease. The bulk of ordinary practice consists of neurotic disorders... and homoeopathic attention to the patient and her symptoms are more acceptable than our attention to the machines and the laboratory.

The first view on the fringe medicine that is known as homoeopathy is that of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, writing in 1858, when Robert Browning had influenza; the second is that of a contributor to the *British Medical Journal*, writing in 1976 in *The Patient, Not the Cure*, which was Dr Morgery Blackie's apologia for her life's work. Since the latter date, as intrinsic illness has marched in tandem with modern medicine, the public has shown an increasing interest in the theory of "like curing like" (or, more crudely, "a bit of the bug that bit you") which is the basis of homoeopathy.

As a child who was dosed with homoeopathic remedies in the nursery, and a niece of the redoubtable Dr James Compton Burnett, father of the novelist, who was a successful and fashionable practitioner of the art during the late nineteenth century, Dr Blackie seemed predestined to devote her life to it. For her, however, there was no dramatic conversion like that of her uncle with his bottle of aconite, specific against fever. Rather, starting with some knowledge of and sympathy for homoeopathy, she became gradually convinced of its worth. Her medical studies at the

Royal Free Hospital were conventional and undistinguished – two attempts at her MRCS, three or more of her MB, BS. But, during her last two years before graduation, she became a Resident at the London Homoeopathic Hospital (it was not then Royal), and, at the end of that time, she was determined to set up her own practice on homoeopathic principles. From the beginning to the end of her professional life, however, she co-operated with specialists in various branches of conventional medicine or surgery. "I think she is going to need penicillin", she wrote to Sir Richard Bayliss, Head of the Royal Medical Household, when she herself, as a Physician to Her Majesty, had been called in to treat the Queen Mother's bronchitis. Moderation, coupled with her gift for medical politics, took her to the Presidency of the British Homoeopathic Society (she was the first woman to hold the office) and later helped to save, even if in diminished form, the Royal London Homoeopathic Hospital when, in 1979, it was threatened by cuts in the National Health Service budget.

There seem to have been no dramatic events or serious conflicts in Blackie's life. Unjustly, it may be, one catches on occasional note of desperation in Constance Barnington Smith's "perceptions" and "no doubts". True, there is another portrait underlying the conventional likeness, that of a woman who, throughout her life, needed a father figure (first it was Dr George Campbell Morgan, after his death Dr Martyn Lloyd-Jones); who, if it would be unkind to say that she used people, shared her cousin Ivy's knack of attracting useful friends, whose Evangelical Christianity seems to have been based on the Book of Deuteronomy, who could talk to her patients about everything except sexual problems. All this suggests that there might have been a job for the psychiatrist rather than for the biographer.

What is beyond doubt is that Dr Blackie was a memorable teacher and an outstanding practitioner, who looked at the patient before the pathology.

Committed to the community

Martin Davies

LOTTE KOHLER and HANS SANER (Editors)
Hannah Arendt, Karl Jaspers: Briefwechsel
1926–1969
859pp. Munich: Piper.
3492 02884 5

At the memorial service for Karl Jaspers on March 4, 1969, Hannah Arendt recalled that his career reminded her of the semi-ironic



Christian Rohlf's "Drei Frauen", 1912, oil on canvas, printed in mauve over blue, will be offered for sale at Sotheby's in their sale of nineteenth and twentieth century prints on June 26. Other items to be sold include works by Braque, Cézanne, Chagall, Picasso and Rouault.

motivations for turning to philosophy proposed by Plato in the *Republic*, namely exile, illness, and life in a state with little scope for political activity. Thus she acknowledged Jaspers's silent dissidence during the Nazi period and subsequent disillusionment with post-war Germany which led him to move to Basle in 1948; his poor health and expectation of a short life which made him abandon psychiatry for philosophy after 1913; and the personal authority of his public pronouncements on world political issues even though he rarely left his Swiss home. Thus she considered Jaspers's life as an example of how to conduct a philosophical existence in the world.

This is also the overriding concern of the more than 400 letters of this correspondence. If they show that Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers were preoccupied by the intractable political problems of the post-war world – anti-Semitism, Germany and Europe, the Cold War, American and Soviet imperialism, the Middle East conflict, racialism and civil and human rights – they also show that the moral resources with which they confronted them were drawn from the very origins of the European philosophical tradition.

The few letters from the 1930s reveal little of the personal needs which linked the former student and her professor, except for a discussion – the first of many – on German nationalism and the German-Jewish identity. But after 1945 Arendt, by now in New York, made contact with Jaspers, now sixty-two, sending him and his wife parcels of food and medicine and later introducing editors and translators to his books in order to get them published in America and help him financially. It was a most practical and thoughtful way of showing her gratitude to him for having been the decisive philosophical and moral influence of her formative years. This, like her almost annual visits to Basle or her bitter regret in March 1967 that she could not just drop in to see how the frail eighty-four-year-old Jaspers was, reveals a constant personal attentiveness which lasted until his death.

From this personal commitment grew a friendship which deepened as the years passed. In bringing this to light in a well-produced volume, judiciously annotated and with useful indexes, the editors have both served the correspondents well and provided an invaluable resource for the cultural and political history of the post-war world. For Arendt and Jaspers shunned publicity, were sceptical about public reputation, and drew a careful distinction between public person and private self. For the first time these letters give an insight into their private world. They also show that their dialogue was one between the New World and the Old, practical realities and rational ideals. If, for example, Jaspers idealistically insisted on regarding America as the champion of the traditional freedoms of the West, Arendt could remind him of the McCarthy witch-hunts or of Little Rock. And when Arendt was hurt by the Eichmann controversy Jaspers wrote to endorse the moral justification of her book.

But, most importantly, these letters testify to a personal solidarity grounded in Arendt's conviction, expressed in a letter from 1946, that it was possible to lead a life of human dignity only on the margins of society. They show that both Arendt and Jaspers saw themselves as part of Plato's "small company" who "have tasted the happiness of philosophy and seen the frenzy of the masses" and who "understand that political life has virtually nothing sound about it". War and exile had deprived them of their national origins, and aware of their "foreignness in the world", of the "groundlessness of their existence", these citizens of the world were only truly at home in their friendship and in philosophical communication – and in these letters. "I was ill and in bed – nothing serious, but without my typewriter, and so only semi-present", wrote Arendt in November 1960. And only in March 1967, having produced since his mid-sixties alone a series of major writings which would have graced the entire career of a lesser mortal, did Jaspers, now crippled with arthritis, regretfully concede that he could no longer carry on writing and publishing. These letters eloquently testify to their "community of reason" which, said Jaspers to Arendt in January 1956, was their sole defence against the "growing deterioration of this world".

Volume VIII of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1,129pp. University of Toronto Press: £40.00/80.20/342.25) contains 521 entries on Canadians who died during the decade 1851–60, together with an introductory essay, "The Colonial Office and British North America, 1801–50", by Phillip Buckner.

The riddle of appearances

Grevel Lindop

ANDREW YOUNG
The Poetical Works
Edited by Edward Lowbury and Allison Young
342pp. Secker and Warburg. £12.95
(paperback, £7.95).
043626884 1

Admirers of Andrew Young's poetry have long been waiting for such an edition as this – and waiting without much hope, since the appearance of the *Complete Poems* in 1974, three years after Young's death, seemed likely to stand in the way of any substantial new edition. Nearly half of it consisted of embarrassingly immature work which Young had himself disowned, or was it really complete. Anyone who wanted to give Young's witty, astute, visionary poems a fair trial would have had to seek out the 1950 Faber *Collected Poems*, a small masterpiece of book-design where the "canon" of Young's mature shorter poems was complemented by Joan Hassall's mysterious yet incisive wood-engravings. Now, however, we have an adequate new edition containing all Young's mature poetry, including the long two-part poem *Out of the World and Back* (1958), with a selection of early and unpublished poems, three short verse plays and, for a bonus, nine of the original Hassall engravings: all speciously printed and at a modest price.

The problems of editing Young, and the slow progress of his reputation, reflect the strained and difficult course of his life. Born in Elgin in 1885, he became a Presbyterian minister apparently rather against his own inclinations, succumbing to parental pressure after an elder brother disappeared under a cloud of scandal in Singapore. Young suffered amnesia about several matters connected with his brother, and seems in general to have possessed an unusual capacity for self-repression, or self-restraint. During a period in Paris he resisted the temptations of the flesh by a mystical "marriage" to a Platonic ideal of purity, "plac[ing] the ring, for our marriage was by proxy, / On the third finger – of my own left hand", as he put it with humorous detachment many years later. In middle age he contended for several years against his desire to abandon Presbyterianism and take ordination in the Church of England – a step he eventually took in 1939. And in 1933, when he had already published eight books of verse, he adopted a new poetic style and did his best to suppress his earlier work, a shift which he marked by changing his signature from "A. J. Young" to "Andrew Young".

The early work can conveniently be summed up as "Decadent". "Hymn to Zagreus" gives a fair idea of his first volume, *Songs of Night* (1910):

Art thou drunk with the strong
Glad wine-cup's song,
Or with bitter delight of luxurious pain?

Like much of the book, it could have been written by Stephen Dedalus. Gradually, however, in the poems written between 1910 and 1931, out of the welter of wine, wounds and pagan delirium there begin to emerge touches of vivid landscape-description, black humour and terse verbal felicity. As the poems become less ambitious, settling down from religious and emotional grandiloquence to a perplexed, almost grumpy examination of the details of plant and animal life and the weather, they become more successful. Most of the work from 1933 onwards is of this kind, and makes C. S. Lewis's formulation – "a modern Marvell" – inescapable, for all its glibness. The poems are brief, concentrated, neatly-turned, and they please by an ability to produce, time after time, conceits which, even as they startle, illuminate at once the object under scrutiny and the cantankerously analytical intelligence which observes.

Thou, in "The Ruined Chapel", grows sheep
as "so shorn / They, not their lambs, seem
newly shorn" and "headstones lie so deep in
grass / They follow dead men to their graves".
An albino blackbird is "white as sin / To [its]
black kith and kin"; in a snow-covered street
"Children [are] walking without feet"; asparagus plants "raise reptilian heads"; and meo
who think that they are snakes / With shining
knives / Walk to and fro, taking their scaly

lives"; a flooded river "brim[s] the heavy eyebrows of the bridge"; and in a summer wood
"violets before they fall / Keep their own
purple funeral".

As these examples may suggest, reading the poems en masse makes one aware of a certain relentlessness in Young's wit. The individual poems do not seem forced, but taken in quantity they can diminish each other's impact, like pictures hung too close together or an excess of conjuring tricks. This is a natural consequence of the narrowness of Young's range, but it is connected with his strength as an anthology poet: each poem is strikingly self-contained and reads as a carefully closed, definitive statement. The poet's whole attention seems to go into each short poem, and there is no sense that he ever expects a group of poems to add up to more than the sum of its parts.

None the less, unstated overall patterns do emerge. Young's preoccupation with death is well known. It contributes an ominous or macabre note to many poems, and offers some fine, Hardy-esque frissons.

Young's central subject, however, is something subtler than this. He is troubled, almost obsessed, by the incomprehensibility of nature. He does not seem to love it, or even to like it; rather, he scrutinizes it for meanings it stubbornly refuses to yield. His conceits are the misreadings of an observer who cannot guess the real significance of the processes he observes, and who falls back on the riddle of appearances as the most honest account of a bewildering reality. When his cuckoos "in a few well-chosen words / Tell they give Easter eggs to the small birds" or a gate in a flooded

field "as though hung in mid-air, / Waits idly open, leading from nowhere to nowhere", that wit, for all its gentleness, implies not an ordained harmony but an enigmatic maze of deceptive appearances.

The strength of Young's long poem *Out of the World and Back* rests in the same ability to combine truth to appearances with bewildered incomprehension. Typically, it is not even clear whether its two parts, "Intro Hades" and "A Traveller in Time", are supposed to form a continuous narrative, or represent alternative versions of the same events, or take place simultaneously. "Intro Hades" begins with the poet standing in his own churchyard, watching the Rural Dean conduct a funeral which he soon realizes is his own. The dead man's situation, as Young presents it, is a thoroughly convincing blend of fear, puzzle and humiliation. No one can see or hear him; he tries to get into his church but cannot open the door, and senses that he is not meant to: "not church, but churchyard, / Fitted a ghost. I was excommunicated".

Young has changed his style again: the laconic wit of the mature poems is replaced by a near-prosaic blank verse that makes the bizarre events altogether credible:

the boy with Sunday papers
Came cycling down; I would have said 'Good morning'.
But he rode past; eyes fixed ahead...
... I had seen Death at last:
He had ridden past me, not on his pale horse,
But on a cycle with the *Sunday Times*.

Not until the initial shock has worn off does he remember, with anxiety and some reluctance,

Undoing the folded lie

Nicholas Jenkins

STAN SMITH
W. H. Auden
227pp. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. £12.50
(paperback, £3.95).
0631 13381 X
ALAN BOLD (Editor)
W. H. Auden: The far interior
223pp. Vision/Barnes and Noble. £15.95.
085478 0564

After his death, Auden suffered like any other writer: his status became uncertain, his poetic influence shrank, and as his first admirers began to disappear there was a period when it seemed as though he might have metamorphosed from an icon into an ignored statue. Happily, it looks as if this critical winter has passed, though the resurgence of interest will naturally be concerned with a changed and more heavily documented figure. A wider, more ragged canon is beginning to emerge, much more historical data are public knowledge, and memoirs and interpretations have started to froth out of the publishing houses.

Appearing at the point when these outlines were beginning to solidify, Stan Smith's intelligent, provocative, scrappily written book is welcome, and salutary. Its readings are suggestive rather than definitive, and most readers will be grateful that the normal parables of Auden's career have been called into question. Smith's study is an act of reclamation, similar in its way to those almost visionary readings by means of which the poets of the 1930s accommodated the great reactionary writers of a previous generation to their own self-obsessed aoids. Smith provides an introduction to a quite new Auden, one whose life-long radicalism is located in a dual sense of the infinitely fluid, contextual nature of meaning, and of a "subject who is always double in that he is both a consciously self-defining ego and at the same time a mass of unspoken meanings". It sounds like a familiar academic acid-bath. Plummeting within a few pages of the first chapter to the kind of depth where the language is so dark that you can hardly see Auden's silhouette in the gloom, Smith sets out, rather valiantly, the theoretical basis of his argument. The engaged critic is rapidly allowed, however, to surface, and he demonstrates his ideas with a series of ingenious close readings of some of the central poems in the oeuvre. He has also read widely and fruitfully in Auden's prose, and makes

good use of this to support his contentions about the poet's linguistic scepticism and alertness to the dictatorial manner underlying some traditional styles. He connects the free-wheeling speculation of Auden's essays with the profound but more stately ironies of the later poetry.

His view of Auden as a writer manipulated but unsubdued by society's marshalling forces, a poet able to use the "Arcadian function of poetry... to turn language back on itself in order to undo the folded lie of ideology", represents a development from his position in an earlier book, *Invisible Voice* (1982), where in an unanchored chapter on "MacSpandey" he talked, like almost everybody else, of a "world-wise and world-reconciling Christian Auden" who had shambled back to the bourgeois fold. The real climax of the present work, then, is the excellent chapter on *New Year Letter*, which takes the book not as a tentative retreat into Christian dogmatics, but as a genuinely dialectical recognition of the world's shifting truths.

In terms of previous Auden criticism, Smith's small book is an almost completely original polemic. His account must, therefore, be concentrated and selective, but this makes the work curiously provisional in effect. Moreover, like many of the critics whose ideological positions are bombarded here, Smith offers no help with the feeling of Auden's poetry. Pressures of mood and tone are certainly hard to convey, but in criticism which lays such emphasis on the subversive power of language, the interplay – and the frequent disproportion – between voice and statement is crucial. Perhaps, though, such nuances will have to be left until Auden, like Eliot, has become decently antique.

Despite his prodigious manufacture of anthologies, Auden, though forced for money's sake to become a critic and lecturer, was no friend of the moribund text-book. With a poet's authority he entered the Academy and ignored its methods. He had his startled students memorize yards of the *Divine Comedy*, and banned note-taking in his classes. Donald Pierce, who took a course with the "tall, youthful, blond" immigrant at Aon Arbor in 1941, recalls in *The Far Interior* how insistently Auden withheld the pre-packaged ideas which send generations into cultural passivity. His unease about commentaries on his own work was deep, but it would be fair to assume that he would have disliked this book of eight essays by different critics for impersonal reasons, too.

to think about "God". But God does not appear, though the poet is granted a vision of his own Spiritual Body (it is asleep and, for the present, unattainable) and, in a passage drawing on St John of the Cross and St Dionysius, views the Celestial Hierarchies – an ecstatic threefold fountain of souls pouring up towards the Godhead.

"A Traveller in Time" finds the narrator in the world again – "dead man on holiday" is his wry comment – led by a brother, who died in infancy and who appears, inexplicably, only as a moving adult head and shoulders, to view a series of scenes, classical, biblical and medieval, which manifest the workings of human and divine love in the world. The quest leads him at last to a stone which he recognizes as the seat of the fifteenth-century mystic Richard Rolle, author of *The Fire of Love*. As the poem ends the narrator seems to merge with Rolle, but his questions about his situation, about God and the destiny of the soul remain unanswered.

To call *Out of the World and Back* the most successful long religious poem since *Four Quartets* is perhaps not to say much – there is little serious competition in the field. Better, perhaps, to say that there is nothing at all like it in recent literature, and that its modest precision communicates a vision combining utter originality with deep thought on traditional themes. Young's is a powerful poetic intelligence, shaped by a lifetime's scrupulous effort and self-criticism. It is good to have his work properly accessible again, and to know that the editors are preparing a biographical-critical study – which will no doubt tell a story like the poems, odd, uncomfortable and illuminating.

The tone is unexcited, and most of the contributors seem disturbingly wary of the poetry's idiosyncrasies.

The collection might have allowed each writer, free from the burden of sustaining a general argument about his whole career, to examine closely parts of Auden's work that resist integration as "characteristic". In fact, the panoramic view is the most popular. This tendency becomes annoyingly prominent in William Logan's piece on imagery, where similes, torn from divorce, and unidentified, poems are written out in lists that permit him to make tight-angles of Auden's long, winding progress.

Despite the thematic variety (there is discussion of Auden's political vision by Walter Porro, Robert Giddings looks at his operatic ideas, Charles Osborne squares up to his Christianity) some similarities emerge. Several essays start with a dash, only to dwindle into superfluous examples and jottings. Stewart Crehan, for instance, begins with interesting remarks on the way Auden manipulates the reader's opinion in his prose, only to peter out with a few thoughts on dramatic theories that have been, he says "insufficiently noticed". Gestures towards the complexity of the verse are too seldom substantiated, and most surprisingly, the mistaken belief seems to lie to several minds here that Auden somehow got away with an opportunistic poetic trickery.

Whom was this book intended for? In spite of the cavernous encapsulations it is not introductory, assuming as it does familiarity with some of the important works of Auden's poetry, nor is it in any sense revisionary, nor consistently scholarly, since it ignores other important studies and sources. This patchiness induces a sense of unease; it can lessen the impact of a contributor's argument. For instance, Alan Bold, the editor, finds Auden to be, above all else, the "great modern poet of friendship" and in his introduction he examines the poems for visions of the Great Good Place. Although he quotes the *TLS* review of *Poems* (1930), he doesn't appear to know what he might easily have discovered in John Haffenden's *Critical Heritage* volume: the author was F. R. Leavis. In the light of Leavis's preoccupation with real community and civilization, such a detail could have lent force and point to what seems a very moderate assertion. As a whole, the impression is that of an expensive (for the reader) home for stray essays. How could Auden have inspired these solemn trivia?

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Fabian and fortunate

Phyllis Willmott

BETTY D. VERNON
Margaret Cole 1893–1980: A political
biography
227pp. Croom Helm. £19.95.
07099 2611 1

Beatrice Webb regarded her friends G. D. H. and Margaret Cole as among "the most active and respected intellectuals of the Labour Party". She commented approvingly in her diary on their capacity for turning out not only countless books and articles but also – for relaxation – a stream of detective novels. This industrious partnership, modelled on that of the Webbs themselves, lasted for forty years. After Professor Cole died in 1959, Mrs Cole carried on alone. A well-known figure in socialist circles, she led a productive public life well into old age. A member of the London County Council for a quarter of a century, doyenne of the Fabians, chairman of numerous committees, Margaret Cole also continued to produce numerous articles and other writing, including a final important book – the biography of her husband, *The Life of G. D. H. Cole*. Since she was a loyal and supportive wife as well as Douglas Cole's working partner, it is no surprise to find that during the married years the extent of her contribution and talents tended to be discounted. She herself noted that for a long time even Mrs Webb seemed to think that "Douglas was the important person, and I a kind of umbrella he was allowed to bring with him". But in the end, and mainly by the force of her own talents and character, she escaped from his shadow.

Betty D. Vernon draws on the wealth of material left behind by Margaret Cole to the form of her own autobiographical works and extensive personal correspondence. So, to a large extent, it is her subject's voice itself which comes over to the reader – and a very personable and particular voice this proves to be. In

addition, the biographer, who herself knew and clearly felt great affection for Margaret Cole, has taken the trouble to garner the recollections of other friends and colleagues.

Among these is Asa Briggs, whose summation on Margaret was that she "presented socialism with a human face". It might equally well be said that she presented socialism with a womanly face or, even more, the face of the liberal, upper-middle-class woman of her time. Born into a family of wealth and academic standing, her comfortable childhood led her on to Girton, Fabianism and a "good match" (Douglas too had the combined advantages of academic and wealth). Blessed by spacious surroundings and plenty of domestic help, she was able to balance happily the demands of family and partnership, at least until the outbreak of the Second World War.

As a personal biography Margaret Cole 1893–1980 is a success, but as the political biography it claims to be it is more limited. There is plenty of detail on the minutiae of political activities and interests, but not a great deal on how they were related to wider events. (The trauma of the First World War, for example, is restricted to Margaret's concern at the treatment of her brother as a conscientious objector.) Another weakness which may limit the book's value as a work of reference is the Index. It suffers from many omissions, particularly of the names of contemporaries of the Coles – some very important. Against this must be set the fact that in Margaret Cole's carefully preserved papers Betty Vernon has uncovered a collection that will prove almost as valuable and certainly as fascinating as those of Beatrice Webb.

Volume VIII of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1,129pp. University of Toronto Press: £40.00/80.20/342.25) contains 521 entries on Canadians who died during the decade 1851–60, together with an introductory essay, "The Colonial Office and British North America, 1801–50", by Phillip Buckner.

The tradition of the new

Michael Hamburger

ERNST JANDL.
Gesammelte Werke
Edited by Klaus Siblewski
Volume One: £15pp.
Volume Two: 980pp.
Volume Three: 742pp.
Neuwied: Luchterhand. DM 298.
3472 866101

Unlike their English-language coevals, eminent German-language writers can still count on more or less complete editions of their collected works either in their lifetime or not long after their deaths. Very few of them, though, have been honoured by so comprehensive and lavish a gathering of an oeuvre not yet completed, to mark a sixtieth birthday; and Ernst Jandl began as a writer so controversial that for seven lean years he could find no publisher at all for his writings. (A few of the vituperations and condemnations his work elicited at one time, not only in his own country, Austria, are recorded in this edition.) Both as a writer of what he calls "conventional" poems – as distinct from his non-representational ones – and as a producer of acoustic, visual or mixed-media texts in verse and prose, Jandl owed his emergence to small presses, including Boh Cölling's Writers' Forum in London. A mere twenty years after that stencilled booklet, whose title was a phonetic Germanisation of a line by Wordsworth, a prominent West German publishing house was able to produce these three large and beautifully printed volumes – also available in a limited, signed and leather-bound edition – meticulously edited by a member of its staff, Klaus Siblewski.

The chronological arrangement of Jandl's works, which did not necessarily appear in chronological sequence, is not the only advantage of this edition. Even collectors of his earlier publications will also welcome the section devoted to previously uncollected poems, written between 1952 and 1985, in Volume Two, and the many scattered or occasional prose works collected in Volume Three. Of his critical prose only the recent Frankfurt lectures on poetics, *Das Öffnen und Schliessen des Mundes*, have been excluded, but they are available from the same publisher as a complement. All the contents of *die schöne Kunst des Schreibens*, including those added to the second edition of 1983, are to be found in Volume Three, though they have been dis-

persed to accord with the chronological and generic order.

Jandl's first book was a collection of "conventional" poems, published in 1956 in a series devoted to neglected or new Austrian writers of a non-experimental kind. By that year, however, he had already become associated with the Vienna Group of experimental writers and met Friederike Mayröcker, with whom he entered into a literary partnership which has never been dissolved. The radio plays written in close collaboration with her are included in Volume Three. So are Jandl's tributes to her work; and these stand out among his critical writings because Jandl has not made a habit of commenting on the work of living contemporaries. His most substantial writings on literature are reports on and explanations of his own practice – or practices, since he is a writer who has done so many different things – in a manner so detached, searching and workmanlike that they cast new light on the nature and possibilities of all poetry. Jandl's need, from the start, to write both "straight" and experimental texts, some for the printed page, others primarily for performance with or without the aid of electronics, has given him a range peculiar to his work.

To anyone else, Jandl's most fruitful tensions could look like contradictions; and in fact his "deutsches Gedicht" of 1957 came up against the disapproval of his associates in the Vienna Group because it is at once a linguistically experimental poem, in their sense of the words, and a most realistically "committed" one, comparable in its moral disgust and acerbity with H. M. Enzensberger's "Landessprache". Enzensberger, though, was the arch-enemy of the avant-gardism that puts word-play before the representational functions of language. Only Jandl, throughout his working life, has consistently brought together these seemingly opposed trends; and not by a balance or compromise, but by pursuing the possibilities of either to the point where, for him, the seemingly irreconcilable extremes have met. This is as true of his early sound poems, once performed with great effect at one of the historic Albert Hall readings, as of his stage play or "opera for speaking voices" *Aus der Fremde* (1979), an English version of which was staged at the Edinburgh Festival of 1985. This play is both a highly stylized acoustic experiment, with all the dialogue transposed into indirect speech, and a work of confessional self-exposure so relentlessly and minutely realistic as to demand the stylization.

"Writing, as a possibility of producing art, is the creation of objects out of aspecific material – objects that do not exist, except as the product of that kind of making. Writing as description of objects – whether actually existing or fictitious – is a wholly different matter." This is how Jandl summed up the basic difference between the would-be irreconcilable alternatives – language as a material in its own right, or language as a means of engaging with the material of experience and imagination. In verse and prose, he has opted for both alternatives, either by alternating between them or – in his most powerful works – by bringing them together. This has a bearing, too, on his relation to tradition, when most tradition, seemingly, has favoured the second alternative. Part of Jandl's large output has the iconoclasm of the "tradition of the new", as in his scurrilous travesty of Goethe's "Egmont" or another stage play, "Lawinenspiel", which consists of twelve words – a feat of minimalism that almost out-Beckets Beckett. Takeo as a whole, though, Jandl's work has not broken with the diverse modes and possibilities which constitute tradition, if only because it does not exclude experience, either social and political or personal. The punning title of his book of sound poems, *Laut und Luise*, contains the name of his mother, a poet whose early death was one of the traumatic experiences touched on again and again in Jandl's work. His experience of Austria's Nazification and of military service in the war is another of his recurrent themes, in "straight" poems and verbally playful ones, in the narrative, dramatic and autobiographical prose pieces collected in Volume Three. The self-disgust so prominent in his last two collections of poems, as in *Aus der Fremde*, could be traced to those early experiences with no more resort to depth-psychology than Jandl himself has any use for in his autobiographical pieces. A previously uncollected poem, "nach schluss" ("after the end"), of 1962 could be either about a past cataclysm or about a potential one:

keiner breitet ein tuch über dieses schreckliche
ergebnis
aber es ist ja nicht weit und breit ein auge, vor dem es
zu verbergen gälte solches anblick, auch sind nicht
vonnöten
masken gegen die erstickenden gase; sind ja doch
lungen weit und breit, sie einzuatmen, nicht vorrätig,
und vergebens treiben die winde zu neuer schlacht,
wo weit und breit
endlich nicht ist ein einziger feind mehr, beere des
staubes.
(no one throws a cloth over this terrible outcome)

but there is no eye near or far from which
such a sight should be hidden. nor in there need
for masks against the suffocating gases; when lungs
near or far to inhale them are not present.
and in vain the winds incite to new battle, where

at last there is not one enemy left, armies of dust.
But for the last three words, this poem has a
Brechtian austerity and plainness. These are
qualities as essential to Jandl's work as the
exuberant inventiveness of his word-play else-
where. The debased or "deteriorated" lan-
guage – a kind of pidgin German (or English at
times) – that Jandl has evolved for some of his
later poems and plays carries this reductiveness
beyond Brecht's neo-classical directness into a
deliberate atavism connected, for Jandl, with
regressions to childhood.

The cultural implications of that atavism are
as interesting, but recondite, as Jandl's admis-
sion, to an autobiographical piece, that in his
adolescence he wished to become a priest,
when his religious iconoclasm was out the least
of the provocations that made him notorious.
His poem "daa schöbe bild" in his last collection,
*selbstporträt des schachspielers als trink-
ende uhr* (1983), was unlike any other in that
hook, and its typeset drafts were chosen for
reproduction in this edition. The poem ends
with a quotation – neither satirical nor icono-
clastic, for once – from the liturgical version of
St Matthew, 8.8, "and my soul shall be
healed", words recalled from an early Com-
munion service, as an autobiographical refer-
ence to them elsewhere attests. The whole
poem is so different in tone and manner from
any earlier one by Jandl that it raises other
possible implications, or implied possibilities,
that cannot be taken up here. What is certain
is that Jandl, who insists on freedom as the pre-
condition of his art, can always be relied on to
do the things least expected of him.

Jandl became not a priest, but an English
teacher, until his retirement in 1976. This
choice goes back to his first visit to England, as
a prisoner of war, in 1945. Partly because his
most immediately appealing poems, the sound
poems, are essentially untranslatable, though
they can be enjoyed by listeners with little or
no German, Jandl's attachment to Britain has
not been very warmly reciprocated since the
1960s. He has written poems in English, done
English versions (printed in this edition) of
others, and repeatedly alluded to the country,
and the language in his verse and prose. As
English selection from his translatable texts,
including his incomparable lectures on poetry,
is long overdue.

The embrace of art

Lesley Chamberlain

ELIZABETH JOLLEY
Foxybaby
261pp. Viking. £9.95.
0670 80729 X

Anyone straying into Trinity College, some-
where remote in Australia, could be forgiven
for judging culture a perversion. Alma Porch,
unmarried, unsure, ugly and indeterminately
middle-aged, agrees to tutor a creative drama
course for obese and aspiring women, and
opens a Paedora's box of unsuppressed, il-
l-chosen passions, midnight feasts and lone-
liness. She answers to a meretricious lesbian
Principal whose curriculum is absurdly preten-
tious, while a lewd and raucous trio of house-
keepers – man, wife and mistress – covertly
supplement the enforced lettuce-leaf régime
for cash and overtly chase each other round the
study bedrooms. Elizabeth Jolley, who was
born in England but has been living in Western
Australia since 1959, lightly flips over the con-
ventional educational virtues, with the comic
result that enthusiasm, curiosity, sensitivity
and knees-full-bend become a nightmarish
facility, in pupils and staff alike, for indul-
gence, prurience and groping. The school set-
ting and the lesbian themes will already be
familiar to readers of her earlier *Miss Pea-
body's Inheritance*.

An excited paragraph on page eighty-five,
however, propels this novel into something
beyond the mixture of Barbara Pym gentility
and sexual force it might first appear to be; it
becomes an exploration of the intricacies of the
imagination. Miss Porch stops being the Writer
as Unconvincing Person and begins to read
aloud from her drama-in-progress. She
chooses Anna from among her pupils to act the
part of her female protagonist, but at heart the
choice is fascination, and was made once that
day in class but some time before, on first sight.
The pale, half-ugly pregnant woman uncon-
sciously gives birth to the character she plays,
with Miss Porch as confidante-midwife. The
real Anna never speaks.

In the fictionalizing mind of an otherwise

diffident and hardly imaginative spinster, art
and life enter into a sustained, confused, un-
controllable erotic embrace. *Miss Peabody*
presented a similar jigsaw of apparently small,
but emotionally and sensually disturbing ex-
periences, in which art creates desire, desire
creates art, and readers, writers and writers'
characters wander back and forth between the
realms, sometimes to amusing effect, but
essentially to find a fulfilment they did not
dream existed.

The technique of framing a work-in-progress
with a story about its writer and another about
its audience tended to drag in *Miss Peabody*,
where the inner tale was mildly pornographic
and thin, but it excels in *Foxybaby*, because
Miss Porch's tale is gripping. A lonely man in
love with his drug-addict daughter tries, on a
desperately brief motel holiday, to help her
and her baby. Jolley's change of tone in the
telling at first seems bathetic. But the drama
works on the pupils a Socratic magic, drawing
out their prejudices and drawing in their emo-
tions. The drama course, so fake in the com-
mercial world, becomes real in the inner life of
the pupils because of the quality of the script.
Particularly spellbound is the powerful, like-
able, rich Mrs Viggars, who is moved to offer a
home to the forlorn "real" Anna. Her depen-
dence on the drama presses a sometimes des-
pairing Miss Porch to keep writing, and there-
with comes one of the many passing erotic
messages of *Foxybaby*: the fascinated reader,
through her interest, engages the author in a
slavish bond of admiration and dependence.

Yet the epigraphs, and a car accident early in
the novel, point to a dream, in which the writer
is trying to sort her relations with the world,
and to distinguish art from culture. What takes
place there is essentially a traumatic vision, il-
luminated and relieved by expressionist flashes
of antipodean landscape. Thus it is when Miss
Porch has first immersed herself in her work,
after the first "reading", that she looks into the
pinkish-mauve Australian twilight and sees at
once the necessity of her solitude and her writ-
ing and has a private vision of Gethsemane.
The comic streak, the light touch and the
happily blurb of this book all belie the fact that
it is an unusual novel about the genderless
erotic adventure of writing.

Just a little thing

James Campbell

CHESTER HIMES
If He Hollers Let Him Go
203pp. Pluto. Paperback, £3.95.
07453 01460

"All I ever wanted was just a little thing",
pleads Robert Jones, the tough, likeable hero
of *If He Hollers Let Him Go*, towards the end
of his tale, "– just to be a man." He has spent
most of the novel suppressing anger at being
called a nigger by a white woman, has worried
out of a foolish tryst with the same person only
to be accused of raping her, been badly beaten
up by her self-appointed protectors, and now,
narrowly avoiding prison, is to be drafted into
the army to defend, and possibly die for, a
country he has no stake in.

Chester Himes's first novel was originally
published in 1945, midway between Richard
Wright's *Native Son* and Ralph Ellison's *In-
visible Man*. In temperament it is closer to
Wright's anger than to the subtle despair of
Ellison, but Himes's hero does not invite disas-
ter in the way that Wright's Bigger Thomas
does; Jones is articulate and sharp, and – when
his intelligence is allowed to transcend his rage
– he intends to take the world his way, not to
seek revenge for its approach to him. But it is a
choice he is scarcely permitted. In one of the
conversations with his light-skinned, concilia-
tory girlfriend, Alice, he says:

"Sometimes I get to feeling that I don't have any-
thing at all to say about what's happening to me. I'm
just like some sort of machine being run by white
people pushing buttons. Every white person who
comes along pushes some button or other on me and
I react accordingly."

A lot of the buttons are pushed in the Los
Angeles shipyard where Jones has a leader-
man's job – the general description of the
routine, drudgery and occasional joy of work is
excellent – from which he is demoted after
responding to the foul-mouthed woman.

Himes employs a quick-changing, twist-and-
turn narrative movement, interspersed with
dreams and nightmares. Sometimes the sud-
den reversals jar – one moment Robert is close
to murder, next he's happy as Larry – but they
are the natural responses of a character who
will grit his teeth and obey the sign – "Read this
and run, nigger; if you can't read, run anyway"
– until, as inevitably happens, his legs give out.

In both style and content, this novel has
hardly dated at all. The racism the main char-
acters encounter might seem a little crude to-
day ("We served you this time but we do not
want your patronage in the future" reads a note
pinned to the bill in a posh restaurant Robert
and Alice have dared to invade) but by most
accounts the change is only one of method. The
current generation of black women writers
would disapprove of the way Robert evaluates
every woman for her bodily worth, makes
passes, expects subservience from a wife, and
covets rape as a fitting punishment for the
taunting Midge; but they would, presumably,
acknowledge that Himes's hero is an involuntary
representative of a community twisted by
every kind of undernourishment.

If He Hollers Let Him Go is an exceedingly
readable, energetic, prophetic novel, des-
ervedly unearthed. At the time of its setting,
1941, Chester Himes was not long out of pris-
on, where he served seven years for armed
robbery and began his writing career, which
was to continue successfully until his death in
1984.

Detectives Coffin Ed Johnson and Grave
Digger Jones feature in a series of novels by
Chester Himes set in Harlem, currently being
reissued by Allison and Busby. Himes began
writing thrillers in France, where they had their
first success; *A Rage in Harlem* (160pp. £7.95.
Paperback, £2.95. 0 8031 590 5) won the Grand
Prix Policier in 1958. Also reissued are *The
Real Cool Killers* (160pp. 0 8031 615 4) and
The Crazy Kill (160pp. 0 8031 590 5. £7.95 and
£2.95 each), and *The Heat's On* (160pp. £8.95
and £2.95. 0 8031 668 5).

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THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY PRESS

c/o Trevor Brown Associates, Suite 7, 26 Charing Cross Road, London WC2H 0LN

Beastly beauty

Gerald Mangan

ANNE FINE
The Killjoy
189pp. Bantam Press. £8.95.
0 593 010159

Anne Fine takes a rather grim subject for her first adult novel, which yields more than its promise at first glance. Ian Laidlaw, a middle-aged professor of politics whose life has been scrupulously uneventful since the end of his marriage, conceives a sudden passion for Alicia, a pretty young student who laughs in his face during a seminar. Lured to his flat on a pretext and set at her ease with a good meal, she quickly bores him with her sheer vanity, and cools his hidden ardour; but she then astonishes him by taking the initiative. Since he is clearly no mere father-substitute in an academic romance, his incredulity is understandable. Ever since childhood, when a dog ravaged his face and left him with hideous scars, Laidlaw's life has been warped by his spectral ugliness; and he is right to sense something unsavoury in this beauty's response to the beast.

The Killjoy is his own candid account of the affair, from its tentative beginnings to its sticky end, in the form of a confessional monologue to a silent policeman. Something awful has plainly occurred that warrants his arrest, and keeps us in suspense, and the narrative is propelled by his anxiety to explain his conduct. To illuminate the violent contrasts between the two, and their complex mutual attraction, Fine

catches just the right note of sententious and remorseful self-awareness. "I knew everything, except what to do. And no one could have told me that . . .".

In the secret collaboration that ensues, when the slutish Alicia moves in from her digs, bringing with her an incontinent cat, Laidlaw is not blind to the moments of grotesque comedy; but it is easy to guess that Alicia's blindness will precipitate the tragedy. While satisfying her perverse fantasies as an object of horror ("You look just like a rotting corpse") and her spite for bondage, he is soon suffering intensely from her incapacity to see beyond his scars, and penetrate the smouldering crested: "Sometimes I wanted to shake her and say 'This is me, Alicia. Not just an ugly face.' But she would not have recognised the parody, let alone understood the heart-sickness behind the cry . . .".

This bizarre and subtle relationship is explored with considerable tact and suggestion. Laidlaw may despise her amorality as much as he envies her beauty, and the younger lovers waiting to replace him, but the degradation is mutual. When he tries to profit from the mess by ransacking her past, simply to master the secrets of an unscrupled life, her increasing transparency serves only to underline his invisibility; and his frustration widens the streak of cruelty that she encourages in him.

The insight is sensitive and fortunately more convincing than the novel's Scottish background. The sympathy which Anne Fine evokes for her monster, even at the gruesome climax, makes this a promising departure from her fiction for children.

The coming of the conjuror

Savkara Altinel

SORAYA ANTONIUS
The Lord
216pp. Hamish Hamilton. £9.95.
0 241 17860

In turn-of-the-century Palestine, then part of the Ottoman Empire but soon to be British, Tareq, an ordinary-seeming boy, is enrolled in a missionary school and goes on seeming ordinary for years until he follows his undistinguished academic career with a performance so brilliant in his final examinations that it is thought he must have cheated. His explanation that he was helped by powers "from beyond the stars" disbelieves, and the leaving certificate which would have enabled him to find a job with the British administration denied, he then becomes a conjuror and begins travelling from village to village, performing some run-of-the-mill tricks, but also some quite unusual ones, such as passing through walls and, on one occasion, turning the contents of a brandy flask (which, as a Muslim, he is of course not allowed to sample) into mulberry juice — a miracle that naturally takes place near Cana.

None of this, however, attracts much attention, except from Challis, a ginger-haired Englishman of the sergeant-major class who has managed to rise to a high position in the Palestine CID, and who is obsessed with Tareq not because the latter poses any actual threat to British interests but because he has an innate dignity and self-confidence which, Challis subconsciously feels, challenge the assumption of Arab inferiority on which the whole Mandate rests. Then come the uprising of 1936 and the official reprisals, and Tareq begins telling everyone he can find that, unless they stand up for themselves, their land will be given to others and they will be driven into exile. His

compatriots, on the whole simple and apolitical, find him alarming and, agreeing that the public would not have been allowed to have its collective peace of mind disturbed to such an extent even under the Turks, complain to the authorities, who, with Challis's help, begin looking for a way of dealing with the troublemaker. Charges of immorality (he is having an affair with a married woman) and blasphemy (he is reputed to have claimed to be God incarnate) are considered before Tareq's speeches become so inflammatory that it becomes possible to accuse him of treason.

He is taken at a banquet in Jerusalem, beaten up by soldiers and sentenced to hang during the Feast of Sacrifice which follows the holy month of Ramadan. A group of local dignitaries submits a petition on his behalf on the grounds that this is traditionally a time of clemency; but by now Challis's superiors, Kit Farren, a bondsome, charming and carefully self-exculpating diplomat, and Farren's master the High Commissioner, are determined to wash their hands of the whole affair.

Soraya Antonius, herself a Palestinian living in Beirut, has written an admirably elegant and restrained first novel, in which the prose rhythms do not falter any more than the parallels with historic events that took place when Palestine was a distant outpost of another empire become heavy-handed. If a distorting anger still threatens to break through in a few places, causing irony to be all but replaced by simple invective against the British; and if it is forgotten that before there ever was a British Empire, or even a Turkish one, the Arabs exercised their own brand of imperial power over the peoples of the Middle East and North Africa, these failings are understandable considering the magnitude of the tragedy of the Palestinians. The Challises, some of whom have survived to tend their rose gardens in their retirement, have a lot to answer for.

Frontiers

"54: old Miss Clio was teaching us
all about Frontiers (Asia and everywhere);
my mate's big brother, so he told me,
'died in Career for one of those things' . . .

when he was in the bath, you could see scars on both of Dad's shoulders
(carrying rails for Japan)—I hated Flipping Frontiers.

PETER READING

Criminal proceedings

T. J. Binyon

DAN KAVANAGH
Putting the Boot In
192pp. Cope. £8.95.
0 224 02322

Duffy, Dan Kavanagh's blouson-clad, bisexual detective, is worried about his lymph nodes. Also about Kaposi's sarcoma. As a result he's keeping a very low profile, sex-wise. He has also been asked to look into the possibility that someone might be trying to put a scruffy third-division football club down the drain in order to make a killing by redeveloping its land. Dan Kavanagh tells a good story and cracks a neat joke — even his crooks have a pleasingly dry line in humour — and one or two of the minor characters are personalities in their own right, but the plot gets rather perfunctory treatment. The author, obviously a football freak from way back, seems more interested in describing Duffy's performances in goal for the Western Sunday Reliabilities. Perhaps he should try his hand at a straight novel.

JULIAN RATHBONE
Lying In State
227pp. Heinemann. £8.95.
0 434 62390 3

It is Madrid in the winter of 1975. Franco is dying, may already be dead. A beautiful Argentinian is trying to sell tapes, allegedly made by Perón when in Spain, which contain sensational material on Martin Bormann, Nazis in Argentina, and Eva Perón's sex life, to a US-Swiss multi-millionaire. Roberto Fairrie, an elderly Argentinian exile and expert on Perón, is called in to authenticate the tapes. This high-class intellectual thriller, set against an extraordinarily detailed, atmospherically convincing recreation of place and period, is slow-moving, but designedly so, with cunning switches backwards and forwards in time to stretch tension past the unbearable.

JONATHAN KELLERMAN
Shrunken Heads
293pp. Macdonald. £9.95.
0 356 10938 0

Psychologist Alex Delaware, exhausted by dealing with the kind of traumata which California inflicts on her children, retires at thirty-three to enjoy the good life. But he experiences an odd discontent, relieved only when a friend on the LAPD asks him to examine a seven-year-old girl, the only witness to a brutal double murder. Despite himself Delaware becomes involved and pursues an unofficial trail to the startling climax. Though the author has over-egged his pudding as far as plot and action are concerned, this is nevertheless an exceedingly good first novel: intelligent, well-written, with a variety of good West Coast settings and weirdos. And since Dr Kellerman is a professor of pediatrics and a national authority on childhood stress, the clinical detail couldn't be more authentic.

AUTHOR, AUTHOR

Competition No 282

Readers are invited to identify the sources of the three quotations which follow and to send us the answers so that they reach this office not later than July 4. A prize of £20 is offered for the first correct set of answers received on that date, or failing that, the most nearly correct. In which case inspired guesswork will also be taken into consideration. Entries, marked "Author, Author 282" on the envelope, should be addressed to the Editor, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC4M 4BX. The solution and results will appear on July 11.

1 The sun is set, the swallows are asleep;
The birds are flitting fast in the grey air;
The slow soft loads out at damp corners creep.

2 The load beneath the hollow knobs
Exactly where each tooth-point goes.

3 But you may love a screaming owl
And, if you can, the unwieldy load
That crawls from his secure abode
Within the mow garden wall
When evening dew begins to fall.

JANE DENTINGER
First Hit of the Season
179pp. Gollancz. £8.95.
0 575 03660 5

Second case for Broadway actress Jocelyn O'Rourke (not O'Rourke as the dust-jacket believes), now engaged to daisy Lieutenant Phillip (not Philip) Gerrard, whom she met while playing the chief suspect in Jane Dentinger's first novel, *Murder on Cue*. Now she's the detective, trying to find out who knocked off acid-penned critic Jason Saylis during a party at his Central Park West penthouse by — an original touch here — pepping up his cocaine with strychnine. Chief suspect this time is scotch Irene Ingersoll, who dumped a plate of fettuccine over Jason after he savaged her Heda. Neat, bright and witty, rather like Jocelyn herself.

MARIO PUZO
The Sicilian
410pp. Bantam Press. £9.95.
0 593 01001 9

Those who read *The Godfather* or saw the movie will remember that, after murdering a policeman in New York, Michael Corleone — Al Pacino, that is — is sent to Sicily to cool off. What we weren't told earlier is that, while he was there, he was told by Marlon Brando to bring back to America the famous Sicilian bandit Salvatore Ouliano — note the cunning use of spelling to avoid confusion with the real Sicilian bandit, Salvatore Giuliano. Michael doesn't know why he's been given the task, and neither do we, but Puzo has undoubtedly been wise in manufacturing this tenuous link with his earlier success, for otherwise it's unlikely that anyone would want to read the saga — narrated in fake epic style — of Giuliano's battles with the Sicilian Mafia and the carabinieri, in which not a single person is made an offer he can't refuse.

H. R. F. KEATING
Under a Monsoon Cloud
221pp. Hutchinson. £8.95.
0 09 1637007

Temporarily seconded to Vigatpore, a provincial backwater, Inspector Ohote labours mightily to bring the police station up to scratch. And when "Tiger" Kelkar, Ohote's former, deeply admired superior, makes a visit of inspection, he can find little to complain of. Then, in a moment of pre-monsoon tension, something dreadful occurs; a year later, back in Bombay, Ohote finds himself facing a court of inquiry and fighting for his career. H. R. F. Keating's latest Inspector Ohote novel is not a conundrum but a character study; we're interested not in the crime, but in Ohote himself, who's revealed to us in more detail and more intimately than he has been before. Subtlety may have replaced action, but the book is still as intriguing as any of the earlier novels.

Competition No 278

Winner: Sarah Layson

Answers:

1 What he saw was exactly the right thing — a boat advancing round the bend and containing a man who held the paddles and a lady, at the stern, with a pink parasol. . . . They knew how to do it, he vaguely felt — and it made them but the more idyllic, though at the very moment of the invasion, as happened, the boat seemed to have begun to drift wide, the oarsman letting it go. It had by this time none the less come much nearer — near enough for Streiber to dream the lady in the stern had for some reason taken account of his being there to watch them.

Henry James, *The Ambassadors*, Book II, chapter 4.

2 . . . the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
This water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorously of their strokes.

Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, ii.

3 There is a boat on the river now, and
Two young men, one rowing, one leaning aloft.
Their shirt sleeves fill with wind, and from the oars
Drop scales of perfect river like melting glass.
Douglas Dunn, "The Friendship of Young Poets"

Among the journals received

Philosophy

Philosophy and Literature
Volume 9, No 1; April 1985
\$13 per year. Johns Hopkins University Press,
Journals Division, 701 W. 40th Street, Suite
275, Baltimore, Maryland.

Philosophy and Literature is about to celebrate its first decade. It is a product of a time during which areas of philosophical interest have tended more and more to acquire their own specialist journals. But though in one way clearly specialist, *Philosophy and Literature* has never aimed for unity of methodology or scope, and has remained cheerfully unsectarian and hospitable to the many different kinds of concern engendered when two internally diverse disciplines interact. The articles, discussions and shorter reviews stem from both philosophy and literature departments. There are readings of literary texts which draw out moral, aesthetic or epistemological themes; problems in aesthetics, handled in a straightforwardly philosophical way, which could have appeared in a mainstream philosophy journal; discussions in and of linguistics and critical theory; plus many readings of philosophical authors which bring out the implications (philosophical and literary) of the literary aspects of their work.

Even a reasonably energetic and catholic reader is unlikely to be at home with all the authors whose works are studied in a typical year. Take 1984: Fontane, Hawthorne, Flaubert, Plato, Musil, Homer, Theocritus, Wharton, Dostoevsky. The range of philosophical subjects is likewise wide. Even professional philosophers may lack the knowledge to appreciate close work on Descartes's use of the first person, J. L. Austin's use of words, and Heideggerian elements in the *Dulno Elegies*.

Further, there is no one obvious method, on either the philosophical or the literary side, for dealing with the many interrelations of philosophy and literature, and there is much greater variety of method, style and degree of rigour than is usual in the flatter landscapes of main-line philosophy journals. One moves from scepticism and deconstruction to an analytic treatment of the ontology of fictional entities. Even the most tolerant pluralist cannot feel that all the approaches here are worthwhile. There are articles which some will judge to be posturing rhetoric, and articles which others will think aridly academic.

The effect of this variety of subject and method is, however, unifying rather than chaotic. Few journals are more likely to entice the reader into new areas, persuade him or her to read new books, find out about new theories, rethink old assumptions. Is Berkeley's use of the dialogue form really so mechanical that Philonous makes all the points? What is our ontology? How can we feel emotions for and about characters we know to be non-existent? Why did Plato use the dialogue form? All this makes for enjoyable, informative reading. It also answers to the complexity of the area. The interactions of philosophy and literature are complicated and often surprising; *Philosophy and Literature* stays alive to this fact. There is nothing predictable about it except that about once a year there is an article on Plato and the dialogue form.

Julia Annas

Area studies

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Volume XLVII, Part 3, 1985
£36 per year. School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet Street, London WC1.

The scope of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* has always been extraordinarily wide, for such immense areas of the world were taken under one roof when the School opened in 1917. When the first volume of the *Bulletin* appeared, in that year, it covered linguistic ground from Basque to Chinese via Swahili and Hausa. African and Asian studies have, like other areas of the humanities, expanded beyond primarily textual and linguistic interests to include the social

sciences and development studies. The *Bulletin* today covers an even greater range. Whereas there is still a preponderance of textual and related studies among its articles (for language work remains at the heart of the School's expertise), half of each 200-page issue is given over to reviews of books, and these are mainly of historical and broadly cultural rather than narrowly linguistic interest.

The *Bulletin* would, however, still be the first place to look for a sound review of a new edition or translation. It is by specialists for specialists, and ranks as perhaps the best in the world; its high standards of editing and production have attracted contributions from the best orientalists and Africanists the world over, who have often preferred serial publication of their research to independent, lengthy monographs. Of the seven articles in the present issue, two are studies of texts (Sanskrit and Chinese); one is on Qur'anic exegesis; two, in French, are literary studies; another is on Chinese history. Of the most general interest, perhaps, would be W. O. Lambert's lively essay on ancient Near Eastern seals, "Trees, Snakes and Oods in Ancient Syria and Anatolia", so long as the non-specialist reader is not perturbed by a brief discussion of Ugaritic texts. There are seventy reviews of major books, and twenty-six short notices, divided roughly equally between the areas of the School's departments.

Alan Williams

Economics

Oxford Review of Economic Policy
Vol 2, No. 1; Winter 1985/86
£22.50 per year. Journal Subscriptions
Department, Oxford University Press, Walton
Street, Oxford OX2 6DP.

Economic Policy
No 1; November 1985
£9 per year. Cambridge University Press,
The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road,
Cambridge CB2 2RU.

The appearance of two new journals devoted to economic policy in the space of one year suggests that academic economists, having been left in the cold by the Thatcher administration, are nevertheless coming to the aid of the Government.

The *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* is now in its fourth issue. Each number of the *Review* has been devoted to one theme. A constant feature of all four issues has been an analysis and forecast of the economic performance of the UK. Policy-makers, be they in the Treasury or elsewhere, are well supplied with forecasts, even if their home-grown products are left out of account. But of course they cannot be, and therein lies the snag. Each model, including the Treasury's, runs on its own assumptions, which differ from those of another model. A projection from Oxford Economic Forecasting, for example, if it happens to disagree with the "Treasury View", is of little use to policy-makers unless its assumptions are explained in some detail. But in John Walker and Olenn Davies's article, "UK Economy: Analysis and prospects", they are not. This is particularly important, since the forecast claims that sterling M3 will grow by only 10 per cent in 1986, against an actual growth rate in 1985 of 15.1 per cent.

The assessment and the research articles offer more fertile ground. In the first issue, monetary policy had a fine treatment. But the second issue, covering unemployment, was less successful, largely because the research articles were uninspiring. The journal's quality improved with the third issue, which dealt with industrial policy. John Vickers's article was particularly effective. It is all too easy to reduce the economics of industrial competition to theoretical extremes. The matter itself is more a question of complex strategy, where each firm's decisions depend, to an extent, upon working out what the opposition will do. Vickers gave a most useful account of recent work in the area although, as with most of the *Review*, the policy implications are inadequately drawn out.

Volume 2, No 1 goes in the right direction. It contains five illuminating essays on the international debt situation. Especially good is John

Williams's "The Outlook for Debt Relief or Repudiation in Latin America", which presents arguments for and against the case for debt relief.

Economic Policy first appeared in November 1985 and, unlike the *Review* which is quarterly, it is biannual. It is also more sophisticated. Its papers are more demanding, more technical and, on the evidence so far, more rewarding. They are commissioned and then discussed by the journal's panel (which is based at the influential Centre for Economic Policy Research), and extracts from the discussion are included alongside. Willen Buiter's guide to public sector debt and deficits was particularly illuminating, not least because it showed that this eminent exponent of Keynesian techniques has been converted to the view that fiscal policy must be disciplined by the requirements of a non-inflationary monetary policy (although Keynesians who have read Keynes's *A Treatise on Money* should not need any such conversion).

Daniel Jeffreys

Literature

The Critical Review
No. 27; 1985 (published annually)
Aus\$6 per issue. The Bookroom, University of
Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052,
Australia.

Even in the days when *The Critical Review* was a purely literary journal, its pages conveyed a sense that literature has things to speak about other than itself and that there are things to be critical about other than literature; but they were, and are, informed also by an awareness that what is spoken of cannot be abstracted from speaker or speech, that serious moral intelligence does not seek to fly from difficult and intransigent particulars to easy generalizations. It is an awareness brilliantly demonstrated

by S. L. Ooldberg, editor and co-founder, first in articles on modernism and more recently in an important series of articles on moral thinking in literature.

Now historians and philosophers have been admitted to *The Critical Review*, and the result is more unusual than it might have been. There are few academic publications in which one might encounter articles as adventurous as Keith Campbell's on morality and mortality or F. B. Smith's on Australia and Britain, and fewer still in which they would be rubbing shoulders with Dan Jacobson's "Ethics and Fantasy" or D. M. Schreuder's "Oldstone on Gladstone" (all of which appeared in Issue XXV, 1983). Nor are these merely fortuitous juxtapositions: none of these articles is routine; each seeks in its own way to respond to that "general social need for alert, responsible criticism that promotes 'an easy commerce of the old and new', the vital sense of the past that is the condition of present growth" which the editors identified in their first issue in 1958.

In the latest issue, Jane Adamson's essay on *Troilus and Cressida* typifies what is best in *The Critical Review* in its refusal to extract "ideas" from the drama and consider them apart from their embodiment. A similar concern for the particular enables Heather Glen to write illuminatingly about Geoffrey Hill in a political context but without the factional bickering that has distorted recent discussions of that poet's work. The same issue (which, with eight articles occupying about 120 pages, is fairly typical) also includes Robert Brown's philosophical "Defence of Jealousy" and John Clive's graceful, witty exercise in comparison and contrast, "A Quartet of 19th-Century Historians": pieces which, like so much that appears in *The Critical Review*, are clearly addressed to genuine humanistic concerns and not to a tenuous committee in the humanities.

Alan Saunders

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Remainders

Eric Korn

Oh! There was a man with a celluloid throat Who once sailed along in a little green boat. His wife she was troubled with ossified liver. Her thumb, it was pierced with a sharp oaken silver. Now this silver, this liver, this boat and this throat, Were at last swallowed up by a petrified goat.
(From "Oh! There")

Requests, demands, for more of the works and life of Richard Griffin, sweet singer of the scampi, reach me by every post. (They don't.) There is little I can feed to his hungry public. Biographies are dumb. National Union Catalog knows that he was born in 1857, but not whether he has died. His books, all self-published, are scantly held by underscrupulous libraries: *The Camel's Last Gasp*, *The Melancholy Yak*, *The Dead Rabbit Riot* (c. 1857), *Bughouse Poetry* (1917), *Bughouse Poetry* (1919) and *Bughouse Poetry: The Collected Works of Richard Griffin* (1922). The more Griffin I read (and I scarcely do anything else now) the less can I decide whether we are dealing with self-conscious Manhattan Dada, or berking crustacean lunacy. (That he spent a little time, as the Romantics so delicately put it, *up river*, is certain: textual references abound.)



The rare portrait, reproduced here, does not clinch matters. Another frontispiece shows the poet in the role of Ouy Barnabas Bone, who lives to the alkali desert and deals in whips, scorpions or *vinegarones* (the word, unexpectedly, is in the *OED*, though one of the citations, from the *Glasgow Herald* of 1920, reads suspiciously like a review of Griffin, if such a thing is imaginable).

I should like to quote in full the hospital ballad with the refrain "The uric acid gathers in the corner of my thumb" - "That woman with the cancer in the gullet, bear her stammer. / The gentle nurse, ungente now, raises the staff to slam her. / Why don't they end the case at once and bit her with a hammer?" I would like you to taste the sinister *enlambements* of "Pink Tea" ("They held a 'pink tea' at the Rink / The Gink had a kink in his blink. / He took a pink drink - hear the blink / of his glass. As he gulps sea him wink. / Hank pays for the drink. Hear the chink / Of the tin in his punse. See the link"). But perhaps the metrical innovations of "The Elm of Nax" are his most deserving and enduring memorial.

The bright Angel feels
A sort of flickety
Shook through the heels.
Wheels scrape a cickety
Knock. See the keels
Doledly rickety.

The bright Angel cracks
To sliver the branch
Of th' Elm called Nax.
"Tis on my own race.
My classie lip smacks
Saying, "Dick, be Stanch."

It's 1986, more or less, and magic no longer rules this dreary old infernal combustion engine of a world. Marx and Gailien have chased

all the ghosts out of all the machines, and Tinkerbelt has lost her certificate of airworthiness. And if twenty million people all run as fast as possible in different directions at the same time the Horn of Africa will become a cornucopia, and if ten million people all hold hands with R. and N. Reagan, Watts and Harlem and South Philly will turn into garden cities. I don't know what the people who held hands with Nancy Reagan got, but I got a T-shirt: YESTERDAY I RAN THE WORLD AND TODAY I CAN'T WALK.

Hand me a tall octavo in rich royal red simulated morocco lettered *The Social Code* [short gilt rule] 1874, and I'll assume I'm going to be told (as if one did not intuitively know) which fork to use with the consommé; but the truth is more semantic, less semasiological, it that is what I mean to mean.

The Social Code (price one guinea bound) is a word-book of telegraphese, compiled by Robert Dodwell and George Ager, LLD ("Pass the Dodwell and Ager, I've got to get these cables off to our chuprassy in Serampur"). The object was to reduce the prodigious cost of information transfer. And it was prodigious: to send "It is thought the worst is over, but confidence is not yet restored", to what the compilers call "an average address to Australia" - as it might be, 213.5 Meas Value Boulevard, Murrumbidgee - would have cost £9 10s - if not to Queen's ransom in 1874, a hefty chunk of the annual earnings of a curate or a reviewer of novels for *Blackwood's* who might happen to have a cousin in Murrumbidgee in need of reassurance. Even the telegraph companies, who were apparently trying to recover the costs of submarine cable-laying in the first three weeks of operation, seem to have had a bad, or at least a social, conscience: the code-book is published by the Oriental Telegram Agency themselves, who enumerate its advantages - "ECONOMY and SECRECY and, by reducing the number of words, it also reduces the chances of error in the transmission of the message, thus ensuring a third and important object in ACCURACY." Communication theory now holds that redundancy increases ACCURACY; SECRECY only holds if business rivals using the same code-book are too gentlemanly to eavesdrop, but there is no doubt about ECONOMY. That curate just fires off the word *Complicity* to New South Wales, and his cousin's anxiety is alleviated for a mere £3 (still a week's stipend or so, and ten times the price of Datapost or Satellite transmissio today in Coostant Pounds. Constant Pounds, come to think of it, could well be the name of the novel reviewer, but I wander. To take their second example, "your son has passed his examination successfully and will sail for India next month" costs, encoded, only £1 5s, instead of £4, a bargain you will agree. (They don't reveal that the encoded message would be *Your son paralyse salmon next month*, which might have intimidated the customers.)

The arrangement is odd. Under a series of beadwords are listed several of the most likely-seeming sentences (most likely-seeming to Messrs Dodwell and Ager, whose values and tastes are not those of today) using the word; each sentence is encoded by a word from the same region of the alphabet, but a few pages on in the dictionary. Thus, taking ACCOUTREMENTS (as I do every day) "Accoutrements are ordered" is *adde*; "accoutrements have been ordered" is *adde*; "accoutrements will be shipped forthwith" is *adde*; and "you left without your accoutrements - they will be shipped to you" is *adde*. The advantage of this is that the same dictionary can be used for encoding and decoding, because both lists are in alphabetical order, astonishing, when you think about it, and much harder to achieve with say, a Tibetan-Czech dictionary. The disadvantage is that if you want to say "your accoutrements are so badly rusted that the people in Oxfam refused to take them" or "what kind of accoutrements did you have in mind exactly?" you have to pay the full golog, *adde*.

The Social Code (or SOCAL) is a powerful language, capable of miracles of compression (*literal* stands for "if I'm impracticable and you see no prospect of being able to file drier

of the price cable us at what you can execute it") and of great delicacy of distinction: thus, "was struck by lightning" is *liquidating*, while "were struck by lightning" is *liquidation*.

Do not be misled by the above examples; the language has no structure, deep or surface. What could a transformational grammarian make of this:

Will add too much to the expense. *Affright*.
Will it add much to the expense? *Affrightedness*.
What will it add to the expense? *Affronter*.
Do not add to the expense. *Affront*.
Do not add to the expenses: they are already too high. *Affronted*.

Could a mountaineering expedition, questioned about the reasons for failure, reply simply *Ed? No*, SOCAL is a polysynthetic language, like Eskimo. (A more suitable exchange, perhaps, would be "Diamond?" "Diapason." "Are there any difficulties in the way of the arrangement?" "There are no difficulties but what can be overcome.")

Accidental poetry or deliberate irony creeps in occasionally. "Whole tracts have been devastated by locusts" is *deterstole*; "satisfy us that you have abandoned the idea" is *obare*; "must draw the line somewhere", ominously, is *illogion* (whereas "send me a line by the first post" is *illogious*, and "accident caused by engine running off line" is *linus*: a non-linear logic).

It's a drabish sort of language, suitable only for gloomy summaries of news, sports and weather: *paling roccoon romble*, for example, or as we should put it, "trade is completely paralyzed by the recent heavy failures. Cambridge has won the boat race by two lengths, heavy rains during the past few days have inundated many parts of the country and destroyed a great portion of the crops". There is but little opportunity for chit-chat ("many happy returns of the day" is *marginof*, passion (unconverted means "your silence is unendurable") or mild rudery (*enshrine? enjoyment* translates as "How is the erection progressing? I am unable to effect an entrance").

Far more convivial is the flag code of the aristocratic Royal Northern Yacht Club (or RONYACC), which I just happen to have at hand. And far more up to date, for it is a digitized code with a numbered list of messages and just ten jolly (hand coloured) flags for the numbers one to ten. (Yes, we could have made do with two flags, I know, but you don't suppose that the Marquess of Breadalbane or the Hon B. F. Primrose, a Oibertian pop if I ever heard of one, were up to manipulating binary?)

Flicking grammatical detail is ignored. 1459 is Hazard-ed-Ing-s-ous; 2458 is please-d-ing-ure-antly. The answer to 144.1027.2375 ("I am. Ambassador. Passage, what kind of have you had?") would thus be 1067.3817.1067 ("Excellent, your Excellency"). (As it happens, the Oriental Telegraph Agency also had a numerical code for the most used messages. 68 in the one code is "Shall require some money shortly", in the other "About, what is he or they?" You observe the gross practicality of the code, the lordly quizzicality of the other.)

RONYACC is full of light society banter: 1189, "Can you spare me some fish?"; 907 "Dine, will you, on shore?"; probably the corollary to 1230 "What do you propose doing in the event of a fog?"

It was even possible to exchange gentlemanly insults (1593 "Have you any intelligence?"; 387 "Birth, your, is not supposed to be good"); but mainly the language seemed to serve for scrounging between vessels, in which provider comes well before navigation. Numbers 530 to 610 are requests to borrow ale, ammunition, anchor, ballast, barley, beef, beer, biscuits; cheese, cigars, coal, coffee, compass; milk, mustard, muttoo, newspapers, oakum; a pair of oars; all the way to yioegar, wafer, water, whiskey, wine. And once, magic breaks in. No 592 is "Can you lend signal-book?"

Papers presented at the International conference on "The Learning and Teaching of English in the 1980s" held at the University of Alberta in 1983 have been published in *The Creeping Word*, edited by Patricia Demers (215pp. Macmillan, £25.00 0 333 39132 2). The contributions cover topics as various as computers and literature, creative writing classes, and the "Canadianization" of the school curriculum.

Letters

Reassessing Foucault

Sir, - In his review of my "Modern Masters" *Foucault* (June 6), Colin Gordon objects that, despite my avowed attempt at giving a fair hearing to Foucault, "much of this hearing is given to prosecution witnesses called to expose Foucault's deficiencies as a scholar". Yet in a book of 160 pages, half of them are occupied by description of the broad content of his books and of his main shorter texts; and if much of the rest indeed lends an attentive ear to objections against Foucault, this is because most of his interpreters in English, including Mr Gordon, rarely confront the serious strictures levelled against his historical theses by some of the best contemporary scholars on the history of psychiatry, science or penal systems.

Gordon saddles me with the partisan view that merely contradicting Foucault amounts to refuting him. Alas, the boot is on the other foot. None of the authorities I quote has ever been so silly as flatly to "contradict" Foucault without taking the trouble to refute him by adducing proper evidence. Their points remain unanswered as well as, in nearly all cases, ignored by Foucault's followers; as unanswered still is, *pace* Gordon, Jacques Léonard's shrewd query about his overlooking the impact of the French Revolution upon the psychological assumptions underlying the end of spectacular public executions.

The truth is, Michel Foucault was a gifted writer who, in his quest for a genealogy of modern society, embarked on an ambitious conversion of philosophy into historical analysis feeding on *Kulturkritik*. This was a fascinating but exceedingly risky move for, whatever his own Nietzschean misgivings about truth and objectivity, it certainly left Foucault's philosophical counter-histories at the mercy of careful historiographical scrutiny. Admittedly, Foucault's often sensationalist rewriting of what Benjamin called the prehistory of modernity contains several fruitful paths of reinterpretation of the Western past. In the end, however, there is no avoiding the cool-headed control of interpretative hypotheses by means of those annoying objects once upon a time called "facts" - and facts do enslave a distressing tendency to give the lie to many of Foucault's historical accounts.

In all fairness to Foucault's memory, I think the best policy would be for his admirers to name and face the criticisms addressed to his work. Rather than childishly speaking of "prosecution", they ought to bring arguments instead of anger to their hero's defence. Unfortunately, Gordon's review denies the reader all knowledge of the actual content of the critical discussion of Foucault, mine as well as others'. Indeed, Gordon is so discreet as to neglect to mention that he is himself expressly criticized in chapter 8, devoted to Foucault's sweeping views on power and his famous "carceral" vision of modern society. Far from engaging my objections, my critic courts ridicule by preposterously suggesting that my assessment of Foucault stems from "reflex anti-communism", just because I dare to point out the utter frivolity of Foucault's parallels between Victorian culture and communist order. Moreover, readers should be suspicious of a review exhibiting such a bizarre picture of Foucault's political views. Gordon is under the pious misapprehension that Foucault was concerned about "reviewing the political principle of the rule of the law" (*sic*)! Mr Gordon would do well fully to subvert such a wretched claim - if Foucault, a modern anarchist if ever there was one, is to rest peacefully in his grave.

J. G. MERQUIOR
30 Launceston Place, London W8.

The OED Supplement

Sir, - Just to point out to Pat Rogers that the term "flicky wicket" is unlikely to become obsolete, since so many of us not only play and watch cricket, but also read (and talk about) its history.

HUMPHREY CLUCAS
19 Norman Road, Sutton, Surrey.

We regret to record the death of Professor Dame Haleo Gardner, author of *The Business of Criticism* (1960) and editor of *Donne and The New Oxford Book of English Verse* (1972).

The Macmillan 'Dictionary of Art'

Sir, - The Association of Art Historians' Executive Committee was recently asked by its members to consider the plight of large numbers of art historians currently employed on piece-work for the Macmillan *Dictionary of Art*.

The *Dictionary of Art* is a high-profile venture intended to provide "a companion" to the *New Grove Dictionary*. According to its editor, Hugh Brigstocke, some 1,000 art historians around the world have already agreed to contribute. He also points out that many jobs for art historians have been created at Macmillan by the project. Contributors receive £40 per thousand words but they have the option of having fees (equivalent to £80 per 1,000 words) credited towards the purchase of a set of the *Dictionary*, which is scheduled for publication in 1991 at £2,700.

The Association is concerned that at a time of unprecedentedly high graduate unemployment, art historians with specialist skills and knowledge are being exploited. The rate of pay offered by Macmillan is less than half the NUJ recommended fee and considerably less than the current rate for writers of text-books. It works out for many at as little as £1 per hour! Four years ago, when Thames and Hudson were producing their recently published and much less ambitious *Dictionary*, contributors were paid £50, plus a copy of the book, worth £10.50.

No doubt Macmillan would argue that people are free to refuse this rate of pay and that the fact that many have already accepted it exonerates company policy. The matter is, however, more complex. Knowing the range of this *Dictionary* and its likely longevity as a reference work, scholars feel a moral responsibility to write on their specialism. The publisher may, therefore, be deemed to be taking advantage of scholarly disinterestedness. But the editors of the *Dictionary* take advantage in other ways. Large numbers of younger contributors cannot afford financially or in career terms to decline the offer. Nor can they afford the option of a set of the *Dictionary*. The jobs created at Macmillan are, in fact, not permanent posts, but a three-year contract dangled before the long-term unemployed is an incentive it is hard to resist.

The AAH takes the view that the rates of pay for contribution to the *Dictionary of Art* are inadequate. It recommends that Macmillan, as a matter of the greatest urgency, reconsider its policy.

MARCIA POINTON
School of English and American Studies, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.

British Library Lending Services

Sir, - T. A. Birrell's letter (May 23) certainly raises important issues of principle; but the British Library authorities cannot in my view be unreservedly condemned for their decision to allow, in certain circumstances, books from Bloomsbury to be sent out on loan to other libraries.

The decision does however make one wonder whether interlending is really a satisfactory way of promoting research. Its economic and conservation aspects have no doubt been looked at carefully, but it would be interesting to know, for example, how much, if any, money, could be made available for fresh purchasing if such interlending were dispensed with or at least severely curtailed. As a professional library researcher, what concerns me is not so much an occasional slight delay in seeing a book or journal as its total unavailability. I was recently asked to look at a book by a quite important New Zealand writer which is not in the British Library Catalogue, nor in the Commonwealth Institute, nor in the New Zealand High Commission Library in London.

A bookseller specializing in New Zealand books told me that it was not in stock, but had just been reprinted. There is evidence that other English-language material of a literary nature, from Scandinavia for example, is not being acquired. The benefits of interlending are no doubt considerable, but it is possible to

exaggerate them. The material often takes a long time to arrive, and when it does so, one's research has often moved on, or one has found a way round the problem of the non-availability of that particular item.

G. CHOWDHARY-BEST
27 Walpole Street, London SW3.

Paisley Pattern

Sir, - The local equivalent for Fifers of the phrase about which J. P. Kenyon (Letters, May 30) enquires, is "are you gettin' off at Haymarket?" (the station before reaching Edinburgh Waverley). Since St Andrews has no railway terminus, one wonders how the ladies of that city politely discover their lovers' intentions. Perhaps Professor Kenyon could make enquiries?

ARCHIE TURNBULL
Edinburgh University Press, 22 George Square, Edinburgh.

Sir, - Duff Cooper was amused, when First Lord of the Admiralty, to discover that in the Royal Navy, "getting nut at Fratton" (the station before Portsmouth on the London line) was an accepted euphemism of responsibility by Able-Bodied Seamen for conception brought to the notice of their skippers by indignant mothers of nice girls who had chosen to love sailors not wisely but too well.

ALASTAIR FORBES
Beefsteak Club, 9 Irving Street, Leicester Square, London WC2.

Sir, - Collectors of variants of "getting off at Paisley" may be interested to know that the Australianism "to get off at Redfern" (a suburb of Sydney) has the same connotation.

BRIAN HUNTER
British Library of Political and Economic Science, 10 Portugal Street, London WC2.

Literary Permissions

Sir, - I am contracted to publish shortly an Anthology of World Poetry. Since these poems are short, very many writers are represented - not merely from Britain and the United States but (in translation) from several other countries. Clearly permissions must be sought from writers who are still alive, and from copyright-holders of those writers who have died during the past fifty years. The problem lies in finding their addresses.

In some cases one can write care of a publisher. However, many English, as well as foreign, publishers give no address in their books. Many have changed name, or address, or ceased to trade. When located, they may have no current address for the writer. Often the poems may have been printed under a pseudonym, or under fugitive imprints, or in ephemeral magazines. If writers have been dead for decades, especially foreign writers, extra problems proliferate.

An advertisement (placed in literary journals such as your own) will rarely catch the eye of anyone interested. Surely there is scope for a Register of Literary Copyrights? Any royalty payments, plus a service fee, could be made in a single operation with benefit to all parties concerned. I believe that such an archive may exist in Amsterdam, but I am not aware of any centre in England, the United States or any other European country. Can you, or your readers, offer any solution to this difficulty?

ANTHONY REID
Lake Dawn, 12 Avon Castle Drive, Ringwood, Hampshire.

Phillis Wheatley

Sir, - Peter Kamp (Commentary, May 30) not only misspells the first name of the black poet Phillis Wheatley but also places her in the wrong century. She could not have been "something of a society pet in the seventeenth century", since she was born about 1754 and died in 1784. Her *Poems on Various Subjects*, originally published in London in 1773 shortly after a visit to this country, was the first book by a black woman to appear anywhere.

PETER FRYER
Flat 11, 64 Shepherd's Hill, Highgate, London N6.

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COMMENTARY

Superhuman frailty

Alfred Brendel

FERRUCCIO BUSONI
Doctor Faust
Coliseum

Busoni's involvement with opera is linked to his concept of a "Young Classicism". Not the turning back to older forms, or the ironic comment on past styles, of neoclassicism, but a music removed from the constraints of purpose, style, form and functional harmony, was Busoni's strongly utopian notion. What "Young Classicism" shares with classicism is a mistrust of an emotional intensity that goes overboard, of flamboyant gestures, and of a sensuality or "sexuality" that in music, though by no means in life, Busoni thought ridiculous and untruthful. Love duets, including that of Verdi's *Otello*, made Busoni furious: there is nothing more appalling, he notes, than a little man and a large lady pouring gushing melodies over one another while holding hands.

Musically, Busoni hoped for on end to "thematic" or "motivic" composition, called for the primacy of melody in all voices (linear polyphony) and helped, along with Schenker, to emancipate dissonance. To him, dissonance rather than the trine represented "nature". (With all their differences of musical outlook, Busoni patiently continued to support Schoenberg, whose existence in Berlin rested largely on Busoni's backing. Alas, Schoenberg declined to complete *Doctor Faust* after Busoni's death but accepted the offer of succeeding him as composition teacher at the Prussian Academy.)

Busoni's ideas reacted against the inflated rhetoric and the sentimental pathos of late romanticism, Italian verismo, and expressionism. (Busoni conceded that there is an expressionist in every composer but rejected any claims of supremacy of one style over another.) He stays away from kitsch in a musical period that, even in some of its most gifted exponents, was prone to kitsch in unprecedented measure. To an audience used to overheated and overstimulated music, Busoni's self-control must have appeared almost glacial. In music, Busoni explains, feeling has to be applied grandly and economically. It should not be overly concerned with detail, and wasted on the short span (this is what the layman, the mediocre artist and, one may be tempted to add, some American critics, conceive feeling to be). Feeling needs to be linked to taste and style. The popular concept of feeling ignores taste: the result is sentimentality, and over-projection. To feeling that demonstrates itself in "spontaneous" gestures, Busoni prefers feeling "that acts quietly" and, most of all, feeling that is concealed.

Busoni's phobia about the trivial and ingratiating extended to the musically stereotyped. The "typical" horn call, the melting string phrase, the chucking bassoon, the instantly memorable tune, belonged to a past that Busoni greatly admired. As they became a matter of routine one needed to avoid them. It was rather late in his development that Busoni, after writing his prophetic *Outline of a New Aesthetic of Music* (1907), imposed such strictures on himself, an austerity that, to him, opened up vast areas of freedom. If what Isaiah Berlin has termed "moral charm" is applicable to musical aims, Busoni's offer proof of it.

Busoni believed that opera is the supreme form of musical expression because it permits, and demands, the combination of all musical means and forms. Opera, according to Busoni, should not duplicate what happens on stage but illuminate what goes on in the mind, or soul, of the acting characters, unseen and unuttered. Not the thunderstorm but the reaction – or non-reaction – to it is what ought to be composed. In some special cases, the music may impress on the listener what happens outside his vision – behind the stage, so to speak – and ignore what can be clearly perceived. Singing texts on stage is a convention that has the effect of "untruth". Therefore, opera has to concentrate on the unbelievable and on what is unlikely to make sense of itself, the public should always be reminded that it is dealing with the fictional world of the jocular and/or fantastic that is unlike the seriousness and truthfulness of life.

The operatic subject Busoni looked for – "half religious" and elevating, yet entertaining – had to involve a quintessential and mysterious figure. After Ahasuerus and Dante, Leonardo was considered; as Anthony Beaumont shows in his splendid book *Busoni the Composer* (reviewed in the TLS of December 6, 1985), Busoni was able to identify with Leonardo in a variety of ways. He was discarded when d'Annunzio, to our great good fortune, failed to provide a libretto. Don Juan – though Busoni saw him differently from da Ponte – was ruled out on account of Mozart's music. Goethe's *Faust* on account of Busoni's respect for Goethe's text. (In looking for a "subject" that would not be complete without music, Busoni saw in *Faust II* a prime example of "operatic drama".) Finally, the medieval *Puppet Play of Doctor Faust* proved decisive: it promised, like the revered *Magic Flute*, a combination of the educational, the spectacular, the awesome and the amusing.

Busoni was a remarkable writer. His essays, and letters to his wife, testify to originality, erudition and stylistic grace. Busoni's libretto for *Doctor Faust* hardly reaches the level of his prose: it remains under the spell of Goethe's diction. Critics of the text of *Zauberflöte* or *Parafal* – two scores Busoni greatly admired, and two libretti I find no less mystifying than Busoni's own – should have a field day. Busoni's *Faust*, at the end of his life, concentrates on an ultimate "mysterious deed": he gives his own life to his dead child in order to live on as an "eternal will". By finally stepping out of the magic circle of beliefs, by leaving religious concepts, good and evil, God and the Devil, behind in Nietzschean fashion, *Faust* becomes free to draw his own magic circle, and create his own myth. How *Faust* is able to extract himself from the obligation to serve the forces of evil remains hard to comprehend. "One good deed" seems an all-too easy way out. Does *Faust*'s lifting himself out of the morass – in the style of the German folk hero *Münchhausen* – by pulling his own hair, thereby undo his past crimes? In the end, the power of Mephistopheles that had frightened *Faust* out of his wits appears no less ridiculed with human frailty than that of the Queen of the Night, and Sarastro.

It is, however, hardly the point of opera to be rational. Some of the mystifying events in Busoni's libretto may, to him, have had their private connotations (it should have amused him that *Faust*'s pact with the Devil is sealed on an Easter Sunday – the day on which Busoni was born). Others, such as the two apparitions of Helen of Troy, Busoni's unattainable ideal of beauty and perfection, are frankly utopian; the fusion of utopianism and blasphemy in Helen's appearance on the Cross remains the most striking invention in Busoni's plot.

At his death, Busoni had not produced the music for the Helos of Troy episodes, or finished *Faust*'s final monologue. To make performances possible, Philipp Jarnach, the most experienced of Busoni's pupils, was persuaded to complete the work. What he contributed, reluctantly and in uncomfortable haste, delighted the press of the day. To my ears it has



"Komiker" (1904), detail from an etching by Paul Klee from a numbered edition of fifty, which will be offered at Christie's, in their sale of "Important Modern and Contemporary Prints", on June 25.

always appeared diametrically opposed to Busoni's style, an intrusion of Wagner-cum-Leonardo into Busoni's rarefied air. (Of the composers influenced by Busoni, Varèse would have come closest to doing justice to the final scene. Kurt Weill, taking his cue from parts of the church intermezzo from *Doctor Faust*, created in due course his own refreshingly cynical brand of music theatre.)

Luckily, this obstacle to the appreciation of *Doctor Faust* has now been removed thanks to Anthony Beaumont's recent solution. His task was uniquely facilitated by Busoni's habit of using elements of his previous compositions where it suited him, or, indeed, of composing in advance works like the "Sonatina seconda" or the "Berceuse Étiologique" that were to break fresh ground.

It would be unreasonable to expect from Mr Beaumont what Busoni himself did not accomplish. His concoction of Busoniana follows Busoni's own prescriptions with remarkable taste and skill. (Only months before his death, Busoni had outlined a musical design of the final scene in a sketch unknown to Jarnach at the time of his completion.) Beaumont, unlike Jarnach, gives the full text of *Faust*'s final monologue and has restored some lines that are crucial to the understanding, if that is the right word, of *Faust*'s ultimate wisdom. In Beaumont's score, these lines of Nietzschean renunciation contain one instance of mistranslation. Beaumont's book gives a different, literal and accurate, if not singable, text for "Buch zum Trotze, Buch Allen, die ihr euch gut preist, die wir nennen böse" ("In defiance of you, of you all, who hold yourselves for good, whom we call evil"). Beaumont's score reads: "Let me spite you, wreak my vengeance on all you good ones who in truth are evil", turning the goodies into baddies, and obscuring the issue that *Faust* rides himself of good and evil alike.

What is the sum of *Doctor Faust*'s parts? I think that, among operatic mystery plays, Busoni's *Faust* is musically superior to Pfitzner's *Palestrina* and Hindemith's *Mathis der Maler*, and invites comparison with Schoenberg's *Moses and Aaron*. I find Busoni's score masterly, intensely personal, and admirably true to his aims. It seems unrodded, and incorruptible, by time. The tag of eclecticism that is habitually fastened around Busoni's neck fits neither his melodic invention nor his treatment of harmony; where he makes use of older forms he does so with innovative freedom; and his orchestration is never that of a pianist: it shows the most delicate and precise perception of the noblest tints of colour. My only doubts are about the end of the penultimate scene where *Faust* welcomes the last evening of his life with quite untypical bombast – avoidable if the drawn-out allargando is ignored – and the curiously thin opening of the final tableau. A large cut at the beginning of the final scene up to the second appearance of

the night watchman would help the balance and cohesion of the whole work.

Scientifically, there is enough for an inventive producer to build upon. (Busoni, in his libretto, has intentionally left gaps to be filled by the producer, and the public.) In David Pountney's very imaginative presentation at the English National Opera, the expressionist in Busoni is over-projected. Busoni himself would have been surprised, and thoroughly horrified, by some of Pountney's scenic coups, and by the reference to political actuality that is imposed on a timeless human problem. Pountney gives an amusing twist to the students celebrating Wagner as "rector magnificus", and makes the emergence of the naked boy from *Faust*'s cloak a resoundingly moving experience. But he also turns Helen, who is supposed to appear in a classical landscape, into a barlot, omits the required magic circles altogether, and remains tied to the all-too-dominant set by Stefanos Lazarides that fits neither the church scene, the Court of Parma, nor the tavern, and evokes New York rather than Wittenberg. Busoni maintained that his libretto was free from philosophical intentions, and that the events of the final tableau sprang out of him in an "entirely poetic" manner. Pountney, I feel, is guided too strongly by rationalizations, symbols and Jungian concepts. He claims, in an essay, that Busoni's Mephistopheles "offers nothing truly devilish – only something human" (namely another part of *Faust*'s personality), contradicting himself a little later by stating that Mephistopheles grants *Faust* "the superhuman and lethal ability to act out his thoughts" unrestrained. It is this superhuman faculty indeed that unleashes *Faust*'s fate. All grumbles apart, Mr Pountney deserves his share of the credit for *Doctor Faust*'s public success; not a few of those in the audience who are unaware of Busoni's intentions will perceive his staging as consequential and highly effective.

Musically, the ENO copes admirably with Busoni's extraordinary demands. Electronic amplification is used where, before his invention, Busoni seems to call for it: the sound of the organ envelops the listener as Busoni suggested. Anthony Beaumont conducted the two performances that I heard. It is good to see somebody who writes so well about Busoni bringing his music so stylishly to life. Among all those involved in making this new version of *Doctor Faust* such a memorable occasion, pride of place belongs to him. Graham Clark, in every way the ideal exponent of Mephistopheles, masters the "impossible" tessitura triumphantly. Thomas Allan's *Faust* is beautifully sung, though, at times, a little lacking in dynamic, and demonic, force. The ENO deserves our gratitude for finally presenting *Doctor Faust* in London and making it an impressive event. The attendance, and rapture, at the Coliseum indicate that the time for Busoni may, after all, be coming.

A Jacobean dramatic fragment

Richard Proudfoot

For the second time in recent years the papers of Sir John Coke at Melbourn Hall, Derbyshire, have yielded a discovery of great interest to students and lovers of the English theatre in the early seventeenth century. In 1973, a small manuscript notebook was found, used between about 1610 and 1619 by its owner, Morgan Evans, of Lantwit Major, Glamorgan, and Gray's Inn. It contained an almost complete text of a play, copied in the hands of Evans himself and four others, and showing striking resemblance, in general and in detail, to the plays written between 1607 and 1612 by Thomas Heywood.

The new discovery is of a different kind. It is a single manuscript sheet of paper, folded once, which contains 143 lines of text written on four pages, of a play on the subject of Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, and his favourite, Lorenzo de' Medici. The nature of the revisions, together with variations in the slop, size and fluency of the writing, leave little doubt that the pages were written by a poet in the throes of composition. The hand appears to belong to the first quarter of the seventeenth century and the paper is watermarked with a pot mark of a kind common in that period. The number "22", much faded, appears at the head of the recto of the first leaf, implying that the sheet belonged to a series and that it came near the beginning. There are no stitch or stab marks such as would indicate that the sheet was ever in a bound book. Indeed, it was at some time used as a wrapper for other papers. The top portion of the verso of the second leaf was on the outside and suffered from fading and rubbing so that several words and two lines are now indecipherable (although they may prove recoverable under ultraviolet light).

The scene preserved in the manuscript is a dialogue between Duke Alexander (designated "Prince" in his speech headings) and Lorenzo. It starts with Alexander's dismissal of his other courtiers, among them one Alphonso. He then proceeds to probe the charge, made in a letter he has received from the banished and vindictive Castruchio, that Lorenzo is a traitor who "hath oft times avowed your death and alteration of the government". In the cat-and-mouse game that ensues, Alexander confronts Lorenzo with the accusing letter and Lorenzo defends himself at length, employing a daring double bluff. He acknowledges the accuracy of the information laid against him, offers his life to Alexander, then recalls his record as Alexander's defender against previous conspiracies before finally claiming to be a double agent, involved in the plots of "the exiles" only, like Sinon, in order to betray them.

The story is well known. Lorenzo did murder Alexander: his self-exculpation is false. The ironic complexity of the relationship was later to be fully analysed by Alfred de Musset in *Lorenzaccio*. The author of this fragment, though, had a clearer sense of its potential than James Shirley, who in turn dramatized the story in 1631 in *The Traitor*. Shirley's equivalent scene (I.i), which omits a few details with this fragment, does little to exploit the irony of the situation. The fragment presents a powerful opposition between the Prince – verse-speaking, sententious and suspicious but sincere in his affection for Lorenzo – and Lorenzo, a Jacobean satirist-courier whose lively prose at once calls to mind a host of analogues, from Marston's Malvolvo and Hercules and the Machiavellian intrigues of Chapman's comedies to Vindice in *The Revenger's Tragedy* and John Webster's Flaminio and Bosola. There is reason to regard the fragment as the work of a capable and experienced writer, quite conceivably professional rather than amateur (although he does not separate speeches with the speech rules almost invariably found in manuscripts associated with the professional playwrights).

The hand is not identifiable as that of any professional dramatist of the Jacobean years whose handwriting is known to have survived. It is a secretary hand with an admixture of Italian letter forms, such as was common among writers of the period. Details which may prove distinctive include some strong spelling preferences. The writer prefers the forms *bee*, *mee*, *hee* and *wee*; *doe*, *goe*, *soe* and *noe*; *who*; *-ll* and *-it* at the ends of words; *ond*, more idiosyncratically, *heare*, *theare* and *weare* for *here*, *there*, *their* and *were*. He seems to have been trying to change the last habit, as he twice alters *heare* to *heere* and once *theare* to *there*.

The informative catalogue entry for the Bloomsbury Book Auctions' sale at which the manuscript will be offered on June 20 confidently claims the fragment as the work of John Webster and constructs a full but largely circumstantial case for his authorship and for assigning composition to the years 1606-9.

Circumstantially, and in the absence of any known sample of Webster's hand, the proposition is tempting. Webster wrote tragedies about Florentine history and the prose of the fragment recalls his manner: but although a lost play of his on the French subject of the Duke of Guise is on record, he is not known to have dramatized the story of Alessandro and Lorenzo de' Medici. It must, in any case, remain unlikely that a firm attribution or dating of so brief a text will be established without the discovery of further external facts or at least until the hand and the style can be subjected to a closer and more prolonged scrutiny than has yet been possible. Certainly the fragment shows none of the contracted forms involving *it* and *the*, whose frequency in Webster's writings has made them seem evidential in cases of disputed or divided authorship. But the fragment is so short that their absence may lack significance. The claim that can be provisionally accepted is that the fragment may represent the "foul papers", or working draft, of an experienced and quite probably a professional dramatist of the Jacobean period. It may also mark a noteworthy early appearance in the history of English drama of the double agent.

Change and decay

Peter Sherwood

TOM STOPPARD
Dalliance
Lyttelton Theatre

Tom Stoppard is an eccentric developer of theatrical property. Sometimes, as in his 1984 adaptation of Molnár's *Jedek a kastélyban* (*Rough Crossing*), he is content to demolish a Grade III listed building and erect a fairytale in its place. In this new version of Arthur Schnitzler's *Liebelé* (*Dalliance*), the decently-presented façade of a period mansion hides a radical modern conversion.

Certainly, Schnitzler's classically simple structural lines are retained. Christine is a Viennese *stilles Mädchen* who is deeply in love with Fritz, socially her superior, for whom the affair is just a soothing episode in his unrelenting daily round of occasional lecture, coffee-house *Klatsch* with his friends, the odd game of cards, a little tinkling at the piano. When his other affair, with a married woman of his own class, leads to his death in a duel, Christine is shattered by the triple blow: she has lost the love of her life, he died for another woman, and, perhaps most painful of all, she realizes that she did not matter to him enough to be told about the whole deadly business.

It is only at this point that "Liebelé", the bitter diminutive of "Liebe", finally modulates into dalliance, of the primrose-path kind: for while Schnitzler strongly implies that Christine kills herself by Fritz's grave, here she is radicalized into blistering rejection of all middle-class values, and her next stop is much more likely to be Greenham Common. (The neat shift of this denouement to behind the scenes in a theatre, between rehearsals for an opera, also makes it clear that the show must, and will, go on.) Brenda Blethyn's startling transformation from a clinging schoolgirl into a woman who has found her voice is spine-tinglingly effective as theatre; and also seems to work at a deeper level, perhaps because the essential

Pat Rogers

Benjamin Robert Haydon
Royal Albert Museum, Exeter, until June 21

Haydon's life and death have eclipsed his work; his friends and enemies have sunk his own artistic personality. Wordsworth's sonnet to Haydon invokes him as the priest of "Creative Art", possessing "a mind and heart . . . heroically fashioned – to infuse / Faith in the whispers of the lonely muse, / While the whole world seems adverse to desert". Egotism, a bombastic manner and high ambitions conspired to make Haydon's efforts at the Grand Style turn all too easily into self-aggrandizement. His choice of themes, notably Napoleon, aims to bring a noble Beethovenian rage into history painting, but the effect is vitiated by a tinge of paranoia. Hazlitt was asking of this date whether genius was conscious of its own power, and deciding that "No really great man ever thought himself so." It is an absurd proposition in the Romantic context, and one cannot blame Haydon for not being able to live up to these distinguished standards.

The show at Exeter is built around Haydon's most considerable heroic canvases, "Mincus Curtius Leaping into the Oulf" (1842), from the Museum's permanent collection. It is a key picture in several ways. The subject had long been a favourite with painters, and John Martin had produced a spectacularly successful version in 1829. More topically, Macaulay had used the story from Livy in his *Lays of Ancient Rome*, the book of the hour. As a myth of republican origins, the episode had been interpreted as the need for self-sacrifice in a civic cause; Haydon characteristically based the soldier's features on his own, and made self-immolation a gesture of artistic defiance. The hero wears an expression of lunatic self-possession as he gazes out for the approval of the public (a sketch also on display reveals an earlier intention to have the horseman staring straight ahead into the abyss, a much less potent attitude). Finally, the idea of leaping into the breach was so strongly identified with this particular anecdote that it served as a natural emblem in all sorts of caricature and political imagery. An eminently parodiable canvas, Haydon's "Marcus" attracted a variety of retorts and revisions in *Punch* and elsewhere; a decade later, John Leech could still allude to it with confident certainty of instant recognition.

But beyond these cultural and ideological meanings, the scene had deep personal reverberations for Haydon. The pointing is in fact a dry run for his suicide four years later, as Michael Pidgley points out in the informative catalogue (43pp. Exeter College of Art and Design. £1.086 114 602 6). Everything incidental is removed so that the picture gives us, literally, a leap into the dark, and no more. Where Gianpaolo Panini and Mortin had set the event in a grandiose Roman landscape, columns and temples and Piranesian bric-à-brac enclosing the action in history, Haydon gives us no architecture of old. Turner had depicted the Forum (the setting of the deed) with the baroque city edging into the viewer's gaze, and a cloudscape brooding above. Haydon has only a tiny patch of sky and no background; just the abyss and the central group. The organization is diagonal, with the horse's forelegs plunging down and his head almost between them; his rear legs and tail stream out backwards in the same plane. The rhythm is echoed by the lance of Curtius. It is a strikingly pure image of noble ardour; one recalls that Haydon said of Hazlitt as a painter that he had "no decision, no application, no intensity of self-will". Haydon who all self-will, and the picture in celebrating this quality shows why Haydon could not achieve greatness. What it negates is negative capability, and that was something of which Haydon was truly incapable.

The drawings on show in the same gallery make a muted impression in this company. There are some meticulous physiognomic and phrenological sketches; bizarre and rather uncommunicative Egyptian motifs; Haydon posing as a manie Macbeth, and antique profiles. Haydon considered his own cranium to constitute a true "Socratic brow", and one can see what he meant. Something of the same could be maintained of Wordsworth, whose bust Haydon wanted to commission – there is a silhouette of the poet, drawn and cut out by Sir George Beaumont, which indicates the same desire to trace moral eminence in cephalic measurements. Most people will find this item among the most interesting on display, and yet this again is shifting attention from the central figure. That is where we came in.

The *Gentleman Collector*, an exhibition of scientific instruments and other inventions collected by Henry Cecil, 1st Marquess of Exeter (1754-1804) will be on show at Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire until October 5. Among the items on display are a writing machine invented by Sir Marc Isambard Brunel and an eighteenth-century orrery.

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Reducing the Indians

Mark Abley

JAMES AXTELL.
The Invasion Within: The contest of cultures in
colonial North America.
389pp. Oxford University Press. £28.
019 5035968

Their America, their new-found land, tested and exhilarated the emigrants from western Europe. It offered, many thought, virgin territory: a world to begin afresh. To see the space as empty—a blank page for their godly designs—the Europeans needed to deny the native peoples title to the land. The Indians were nomadic (and therefore barbarous); they failed to till the noble soil (and therefore must be idle). As James Axtell claims in his trenchant, sometimes belligerent study of early America, the English teachers and preachers were guilty of cultural annihilation. They set out to breed shame. "In order to make [the Indians] Christians," the Revd Charles Inglis wrote, "they must first be made men." "To Humanize these Miserable Animals," the Revd Cotton Mather suggested, "were a work of no little difficulty."

While some of the missionaries in New France held a similar opinion, the Jesuits believed and behaved otherwise. They detected in certain Indians an intellect and a moral capacity equal to those of the shrewdest Frenchmen, and they deplored the corrupting influence of European traders and settlers. Their rigorous training in languages, logic and rhetoric gave the Jesuits an advantage over competing missionaries among Indian cultures that placed a high value on eloquence. In Axtell's eyes, the Jesuits were superior for another reason too: their willingness to accept much in the civilization of their converts. Unlike Mather and Inglis, the Jesuits found that the best way to make their charges Christian was to avoid making them European. Traveling with the Indians, mastering their languages, sharing their sleeping quarters and their food, they were prepared to adapt to a way of life that many white men dismissed as brutal and inhuman.

The Jesuits used the experiences of the Indians to evoke the tenets of Catholicism: by contemplating Indian life and death, they learned the best way to teach the faith. They translated "soul" into the Huron language as "our medicine," and "rosary" as "Mary's necklace." All was fair to love and fear. In the Jesuit handbook for Huron converts, Indian techniques of torture became a prefiguring of Hell: "Blood boils in their veins. Brains boil inside their heads. The boiling will never end."

An admirer of the Jesuits' cultural flexibility, Axtell mounts a sustained and systematic assault on the attitudes of English immigrants in early America. For whereas the leaders of New France commonly showed a grudging respect for the Indians, the English set out to alter an entire system of values: "When the Indians had changed their homes, their community, their livelihood, their government, and their allegiance, they still had not done enough to satisfy the English reformers." Puritan missionaries, by promoting an agrarian, capitalist way of life, worked to destroy the Indians' communal tradition; they made property an adjunct of piety. Meanwhile, the schools that Englishmen set up for native children instilled in the Indians a crippling sense of inferiority. A pupil of Eleazar Wheelock—one of the few New Englanders to persevere with the education of Indians—gladly described himself as "a Despicable Lump of polluted Clay, as it is called in this tawny skin of mine," and as "your Ignorant Pupil, and good for nothing Black Indian."

Axtell has a sharp eye for the revealing quotation, the telling anecdote. Unfortunately, his zeal to discredit the English goes some way beyond the frontiers of historical objectivity. He speaks of Indians as "so venerable an English trait," and makes a righteous political attack on the Massachusetts Puritans, by saying: "Democracy may have been commensurate with the anarchy of Indian life, but it was an anarchy to Englishmen nursed on monarchy."

The British settlers often gave new names to Indians they baptized or befriended, a process Axtell castigates. It

"forced the natives to compromise their personal identity for the convenience and ideology of the white invaders". He relegates to a footnote the admission that the Indians also renamed Englishmen with whom they had contact.

The central weakness of *The Invasion Within*, however, goes beyond such personal bias. Axtell is an "ethnohistorian" by trade, and he shows an alertness to the nuances of cultural gesture; but his sensitivity to the deeds of the past does not always extend to its words. In his longest chapter, "Reduce Them to Civility", he makes extensive play with the English desire to "reduce" the natives from a state of savagery, but interprets that "peculiar" verb only in its contemporary sense—to lessen. He never realizes that in the seventeenth century its primary meanings were to restore, to bring back, or to lead into. (The translators of the King James Bible, for example, sought "to

reduce their Country-men to good order and discipline".) Later, Axtell disparages the *Teors of Repentance* which John Eliot wanted his converts to shed, suggesting that the English set out to establish a state of emotional fragility among the natives. He seems unaware that tears are among the central images of seventeenth-century devotion.

Eliot provokes Axtell's reluctant approval by his use of a technique which the historian describes, oddly, as a "colonial equivalent of the Marshall Plan". Eliot was the guiding spirit behind the "praying towns" of the seventeenth century: gatherings of Christian Indians away from the temptations and dangers of the wilderness. Thanks in part to his endeavours, thirty-seven Indians were serving as full-time ministers in New England by the end of the seventeenth century. There were, by contrast, no Indians among the ranks of the Jesuits. While Axtell acknowledges Eliot's successes,

he prefers to concentrate on the "white Indians" and the "English apostates"—the hundreds of English Protestants, captured in war by the French or their Indian allies, who elected to remain in New France. One of them, a certain Esther Wheelwright, ended up as Soeur Esther Marie Joseph de l'Enfant Jésus, the superior of the Ursuline order in Canada. Even more extraordinary, perhaps, are those white captives, both French and English, who chose to spend the rest of their lives with the "savages" rather than return to "civilization". Here again Axtell overplays a strong hand by applauding their conversion in the light of the Indians' sense of community, love, integrity, mobility, equality, adventure and freedom. He comes close, at times, to painting their traditional life as a journey through a second Eden into which white men (especially Englishmen) intruded like a company of snakes. *The Invasion Within*, coloured as it is by the lingering myth of the noble savage, suggests one of the origins of that myth: the embarrassed recognition by many whites, in New France as well as New England, that contact with their culture was generally a degrading experience for the Indians, who tended to retain their self-respect and spiritual confidence in inverse proportion to their dealings with the immigrants. The nomadic life of the natives, free alike from brandy, tillage and hellfire sermons, produced among the colonists an edgy mixture of fear and desire.

Lucid, packed with detail and written with a sad passion, *The Invasion Within* is both more and less than it claims. Together with a pair of sequels, the book will form what its publishers trumpet as "The Cultural Origins of North America". Such a phrase is misleading, for Axtell restricts his attention to New England and New France, glancing only occasionally at Indians' interactions with the French in Acadia, the Dutch in New Amsterdam, the Quakers and Germans in Pennsylvania, and the English in the southern colonies. (He entirely excludes the Spanish from consideration.) Yet despite such omissions and a few sins of commission, the book stands as a provocative study of the psychology and consequences of missionary work, and of the resistance to it. Colonial New England is not the only example of a marriage between Christian preaching and capitalist practices which resulted in social despair.



A detail from John Running's photograph of a Tarahumara drummer during Holy Week. The Tarahumara Indians are native to the Sierra Tarahumara, Mexico. For publication details see the caption on the opposite page.

Festa manifestations

Vincent Crapanzano

ROBERT ANTHONY ORSI.
The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and
community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950.
287pp. Yale University Press. £29.95.
0300 032625

In the middle of one of the most dilapidated quarters of Spanish Harlem is a small community of Italians—the last residents of what was once an important Italian settlement in the United States. In the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, Italians arrived by the thousands in New York city, armed, if not with the proverbial belief that the streets of that city were paved with gold, then with the more realistic conviction that there they would be able to earn enough money to return home as *grand'uomini*. Anything was better than the *miseria* they had known in Calabria or in Sicily. They settled in places like Italian Harlem where, as a group they could shield themselves from the shock, disappointment, and the abrasions that came with immigration, as well as from the fear that somehow they were losing their cultural identity and their children their heritage. More determined than some immigrants, they struggled to preserve that heritage, recreating as best they could in America the Italy that they remembered. To Harlem they brought the Madonna of Mount Carmel and her festa.

For Robert Orsi the cult of the madonna was of central symbolic importance to the community of Italians in Harlem. It gave meaning to their lives; articulating their values and providing sustenance in periods of extreme difficulty. Orsi sees the festa, which took place each year in the middle of July as a "drama of the

inner life" of the community. Often frenetic, and marked by a mood of mourning, it gave the Harlem Italians (so Professor Orsi argues in crude functionalist terms) an occasion, set apart from the ordinary, when they could express—and purge—the frustrations and rage of their social and economic situation. It was "a declaration, affirmation, and sacralization of the Italian way of being human and of expressing their humanity".

The festa resembled the saint's festivals that still take place in Southern Italy. The *prominent* of the community, worshippers carrying enormous candles, and barefooted penitents, sometimes with bloodied faces, paraded through Harlem behind a garish statue of the madonna. The streets were lined with spectators, hawkers, and vendors of religious articles—charms to ward off the evil eye, and wax replicas of human organs—which were carried in the procession by those whom the madonna had healed. When the madonna was finally returned to her throne in the church, there was a rush of pilgrims, mostly women, to leave her offerings—candles, the anatomic replicas, money, and gold. Until the 1920s, some of the female penitents licked the floor as they crawled up to the throne.

When Italians first began to settle in Harlem in the 1870s, they were resented by the local Irish and German Catholics and forced to worship in church cellars. It was not until 1919, when the Italians came to dominate the area politically, that they were able to bring the madonna up from the crypt of their church on 115th Street. The American Catholic establishment found manifestations of Italian popular religion an embarrassment, and only tolerated them as a way of protecting the Italians from the blandishments of the Protestants. The Vatican, however, was concerned about the

American church's treatment of Italians and other recent Catholic immigrants. When Pope Leo XIII was asked in 1892 to elevate the shrine to a sanctuary, he looked favourably on the request, seeing it as an opportunity to assert papal authority over the recalcitrant American church. The shrine was granted the status of sanctuary in 1903, and the virgin was crowned in what Orsi rhetorically calls "the first communal event of Italian Harlem".

Orsi's description of the festa is a conflation of many historically unspecified descriptions, and as such it precludes the very historical perspective his study claims. Much of his book is concerned, however, with the Harlem community and the values that its members held. Although he is given to simplistic sociological generalizations and to the blood-of-my-blood sentimentality that characterizes so many Italian-American studies of Italians in America, he does convey, at times movingly, the sense of loss that is part of the immigrant experience and the tensions that it produces in the immigrant family. He quotes from a 1938 speech by one of the community's foremost spokesmen:

There was a hunger of the spirit for something that denied us. The older people still clung to their memories of their native land and to the loyalties of mind, heart, and spirit that are forever intertwined with the scenes of childhood. Their children—born in America—know nothing of the heritage of their mothers and fathers. . . . When they would have become old men and old women, their memories would be, not of lands across the sea but of America.

Unfortunately, Orsi ends his story in 1954 when most of the Italians had left Harlem, and does not tell us what has happened to the madonna of 115th Street and her cult now that the neighbourhood is predominantly Puerto Rican.

The tragical-historical-racial drama

J. W. Burrow

In general academic conversation, to profess an interest in "race" would, I imagine, most probably be taken as ill-phrased shorthand for an interest in "race relations". It would not at once be taken to express an academic interest in identifying the characteristics of racial "types" or in the possibility of interpreting European or world history in terms of the past achievements or future prospects, the mingling or "purity", of distinct races. That this should be so represents a remarkable and rapid cultural revolution. The widespread later nineteenth and early twentieth-century preoccupation with "the racial factor" or "the future of the race" (meaning some variety of the human, rather than its totality) seems to have passed from the intellectual map. The global anxieties of some late-Victorians, for example, sometimes achieved a kind of prescience. They would see evidence now of the Yellow Peril in every car-park. What makes such forebodings alien and embarrassing is not their pessimism—explaining our national "decline" threatens to become an industry—but their uninhibited employment of the vocabulary of race, rather than just those of economics and power, nationality and culture. Embarrassment is greatest, of course, over talk of racial "dilution" or even of "miscegenation"; ideologically speaking, exogamy is in, endogamy is out.

What is now seen as the vacuity, in fact, as well as the moral disrepute, of the term "race" sometimes makes it tempting mentally to replace "race" by "culture" as a way of understanding what was being said. Not altogether misleading, perhaps; the unavailability of "culture", in something like the modern, relativistic sense, for much of the last century—it was introduced by Tylor in the 1870s—sometimes seems to prompt the ubiquitous use of "race". Certainly (compared with the then common, though of course far from universal, assumption of a close causal connection between race and culture) environmentalist and diffusionist explanations of cultural variety are now in favour, as they had been, predominantly though not exclusively, in the eighteenth century. In between lie the strange mixtures of comparative anatomy and primitive genetics, of imperial self-confidence and self-doubt, overhyped nationalism, unquestioned aesthetic preference, sexual and class anxieties and cultural pessimism, which went into the making of racialist doctrines: the pedantries of "race hygiene", the monocausal, gloomy or crisis-battered racialist philosophies of history propounded by Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The culture which produced and absorbed them is now another country, between which and ourselves stand two world wars, the recession of European imperialism, large-scale non-European immigration in Britain, the Civil Rights movement in America, and, above all, the Nazi holocaust.

To say this is not, of course, to complacently ourselves on reaching some haven of moral rectitude, nor is it necessarily complacent to feel that the word "racist", used as a verbal aerosol sprayed over past and present alike, is unhelpfully indiscriminate. Admittedly, distancing oneself from the past offers an easy route to self-congratulation. To illustrate the racial prejudices of our ancestors and chronicle the rejected theories and sinisterly portentous racial preoccupations of nineteenth-century physical anthropology, adding a safe late-twentieth-century indignation, provides both an easy research strategy and a cheaply won moral superiority. The history of ideas of race gives large opportunities of this kind; it lends itself, not to the traditional practice of intellectual history as offering selective gratitude for a legacy, but to its equally traditional opposite: the severe proofs of the hindsight. The concerns of late-nineteenth-century physical anthropologists like Quatrefages and Virchow, for example—the prodigious measuring of the skulls of schoolchildren and docile (made available to science by mass education and mass conscription), to determine the racial "stocks" of which the nations of Europe were composed—now seem as intellectually remote, in their distinctive mixture of patriotism and positivism, as Renaissance Hermeticism, the etymologies of seventeenth-century antiquar-

ies, the keys to all mythologies or (the closest parallel) the enthusiasm for phrenology, which was derived to some extent from the same root. Yet classification and the attempt to explain difference are, after all, fundamental and in themselves perfectly innocent scientific pursuits, and comparative anatomy, in other contexts, contributed much to nineteenth-century science and the recovery of remote pasts. Racial doctrines were even more many-faceted than the nationalism with which they were often so closely associated, because of their "scientific" dimension, which was one part of their appeal.

In the complex history of racial ideas, Romantic and positivist influences combined in various ways. When a member of the Anthropological Institute gave a topical paper in 1871 entitled "On the Racial Aspects of the Franco-Prussian War", for example, he was unconsciously illustrating some of these con-

ceptions of a distinctive national mission, or succession of them, each held as a kind of trust and successively revealed; arguably it reaches back to the Renaissance conception of the transmission of the imperial role to the Germans, but elaborated as a doctrine of German Romanticism it seems to have inspired virtually every thwarted national group in nineteenth-century Europe with Messianic ambitions.

Not least, though belonging to an altogether different intellectual tradition, there was the militant materialism of some of the later *philosophes*, which inspired the physiological psychology of Cabanis and De Tracy, a line of thought also seen in phrenology, and more respectably, in the mid-nineteenth century, in neurology. Collectivized into a concept of race as a psycho-physical entity, it helped to give a scientific meaning to "osseous structures" which Pinkerton's more traditional kind of



A detail from John Running's photograph of a traditional dancer from the Blackfoot Tribe, Fort Belknap, Montana. It is reproduced from John Running: Honor Dance: Native American photographs with a foreword by William Albert Allard (155pp. University of Nevada Press. 087417 1008).

nections. There was, as one would expect, a certain amount of scientific display; the foundation of character in physical structure is the central anthropological discovery and "mischievous philanthropists" (he mentions J. S. Mill) who deny the inequality of men are castigated. Anthropology, as the science of race, is made relevant to international affairs through its establishment of racial character: "Dynamic interests are no longer the supreme element in human affairs." The French collapse, it is implied, is anthropologically explicable: "The more powerful development of the nervous system as contradistinguished from the osseous and the muscular, constitutes . . . the distinctive character of the Celt" (*vulgariter*, the French get rattled when they are behind). The final lesson of the article was, it has to be admitted, rather an oblique inference from a German triumph: the French mission, now cancelled, as leader of European civilization, devolves not just on the Teutons but, specifically, not as one might expect, on the German empire, but on the British.

It was a not untypical way of talking, this conversion of European power politics into a drama in which the conflicts of the Celt or the Latin, with the Teuton, and his Anglo-Saxon subcategory, are worked out. It reached back, presumably largely unknowingly, in many directions: for example to the eighteenth-century attribution of distinctive characters to the racial identities suggested by physiological affinity, as well as to Tacitus' Germans. (The eighteenth-century Scottish antiquary John Pinkerton, struck by the Osianic promotion of the Celts, declared them irrational, melancholic and savage, while "The Celtic is so soft, unfixed and nonsensical a speech that from it you may make what you will of anything".) There was also the conviction, at the heart of Romantic nationalism, that the age of rulers had given way to the era of peoples, raising the crucial question, what was a people. The concept of national identity was elaborated into

philological antiquarianism had not dwelt on. The most important classificatory keys were of course comparative anatomy, and such discoveries of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century anthropometry as Camper's facial angle—the further from ninety degrees the nearer to the brutes (the President of the Anthropological Institute admitted rather sadly in 1908 that it gave only approximate results, while "Flower's gothic index is very unsatisfactory")—and the ratios expressing skull shape employed in Retzius's cephalic index. The superficial racial impressionism which had served for Linnaeus—skin colour, hair texture—seemed decisively superseded, and dolichocephalic and brachycephalic men were launched on their careers in international politics as respectively Nordic and Iberian, Protestant and Catholic, enterprising and conservative. Without the indices, Quatrefages and Virchow could not have refought the Franco-Prussian war over the bodies of the schoolchildren of East Prussia. Quatrefages had accused the Prussians of being Asiatics rather than Teutons; Virchow's calipers said they were not.

Of the making of racial typologies, from Linnaeus onwards, there seemed to be no end. Blumenbach's Mongols, Negroes and Caucasians (he owned a fine Georgian skull which he admired), by comparison with some, had a memorable simplicity. Christian Nonchian genealogies and Enlightenment environmentalist explanations both gave way before the advance of anthropometry, while in the years before *The Origin of Species* polygenism became an attractive if daring option, and an issue for the anthropological societies. The Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, the mother society, was founded by Paul Broca in 1859, the Anthropological Society of London in 1863. The tone of the latter was aggressively racialist through the 1860s; much less so after the death of its founder at the end of the decade, and the fusion with its rival, the Ethnolo-

gical Society, as the Anthropological Institute. Journals were founded, the apparatus of a scientific discipline wheeled into place. The preoccupations of the physical anthropologists may often have seemed pedantic and even ghoulish (as Fitzpiers's appropriation of the old woman's skull seemed to Hardy's woodlanders), and Darwin's *Origin* and the ending of American slavery deprived the polygenists' arguments of much of their force and point. Nevertheless, their general credentials remained impressive, and helped to establish "races" as scientifically authorized categories, to whose relations the fashionable Darwinian notions of struggle and survival seemed usefully applicable, especially when, like the Tasmansians, they were wiped out. Hapless *indigènes* in a good many places seemed destined helpfully to "disappear", even if shiftless indigents in darkest London, encouraged by philanthropy, seemed all too ready to satisfy the Darwinian criterion of fitness by copious successful breeding; a declining middle-class birth-rate was bad racial news.

If, for an imperial power, or in the American melting-pot, "white", and as a variety, "Anglo-Saxon" (though not recognized by comparative anatomists), were understandably the vital categories, in central Europe the issues were rather different, and the emerging protagonist, if recognizably a cousin, relied, initially at least, on philology rather than physiology for identification. The Aryan, like the Celt, was a product of linguistic affinity and a child of Romanticism; initially, at least, the sponsor was not anatomy and materialist psychology but philology. To a large extent the *aryas* discerned in Sanskrit literature seem to have replaced the Japhetic strand of the old Noachian genealogies; for Hitler, the obvious rivals were still, under other names, Ham and Shem, Negroes and Jews, as Léon Polinikov makes clear in *The Aryan Myth* (1974). The Aryan's function of uniting all Gentile Europeans was useful in the context of antisemitism; otherwise his chief role was to provide a glorious prehistoric ancestry for the Teuton, like Pinkerton's earlier appropriation of Herodotus' Scythians to be the prehistoric, wandering Goths. Notoriously, pan-Germnism found its later nineteenth-century myth, above all, in the interwoven strands of Gobineau and Wagner, brought together by Chamberlain in *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*: Gobineau's racial despair and warnings against race-mixture, and Wagnerian Messianism, with its promise of the redemption and renewal of the *Volks*. The keynote, nevertheless, seems to be pathos. Racial self-assertion had long thrived on the sense of an identity in some way thwarted or threatened: the eighteenth-century Celtists or the nineteenth-century Slavophiles are cases, and, not least, the German Romantics.

Through Gobineau, perhaps more than anywhere else, the racialist *Weltonschauung* assimilated and expressed a characteristic later nineteenth-century apprehension found, among others, in J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer: the fear of entropy, of the dissipation of energy through the disappearance of variety. It is odd to think of a concern for racial "purity" as akin to the liberal's cherishing of variety, yet variety implies distinctness. Add to that the Herderian belief in historic mission, and the Aryan/Teuton is involved in a moral and historical drama whose outcome may well be tragic: the betrayal of the Messianic role. What made the racial historical drama a moral one is the same kind of link as that postulated in a different idiom by the French materialists—the conjunction of physical and moral attributes. Racial theorists differed, from each other and sometimes even with themselves, in the degree of comfort they seemed to feel with their implicit physical determinism; Chamberlain, for example, is sometimes uneasy with it. The fear of entropy in late-nineteenth-century France seems, understandably, to have focused on a declining birth-rate and physical degeneration (a worry, of course, in Britain also, though the demographic concern took the opposite direction, except when it considered the breeding habits of the upper and middle classes). But in Germany it more obviously took the form of a sense of spiritual crisis, of a historical mission almost too difficult—in fact presumably simply too amorphous—to fulfil.

In considering the components of the sup-

A newer deal for minorities

Nathan Glazer

HOWARD SCHUMAN, CHARLOTTE STEEN and LAWRENCE BOBO
Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations
266pp. Harvard University Press. £18.95.
0674745744

PAUL BURSTEIN
Discrimination, Jobs, and Politics: The struggle for equal employment opportunity in the United States since the New Deal
247pp. University of Chicago Press. £25.50 (paperback, £10.95).
0226081346

RICHARD D. ALBA (Editor)
Ethnicity and Race in the U.S.A.: Toward the twenty-first century
185pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £15.
07102 0633 X

PETER H. SCHUCK and ROGERS M. SMITH
Citizenship Without Consent: Illegal aliens in the American polity
173pp. Yale University Press. £22.50 (paperback, £6.95).
0300 03530 6

The problems posed by the largest minority in the United States, blacks, are in some ways more acute than ever before, despite the civil rights revolution of the 1960s. But they are not quite the same problems they were then, for the racial and ethnic context has changed. Expanded immigration since the late 1960s has increased the size of some older ethnic minorities and brought new ones to the United States. And both the progress and problems of these newer groups cast a new light on the race problem that has been with us now for 350 years. We see some new groups moving rapidly ahead economically, leaving behind our largest minority, which has such deep claims on the American conscience and plays a key role in American politics. And we have to confront the question of why, despite substantial efforts since the mid-1960s, the blacks lag behind and are afflicted with so many social problems.

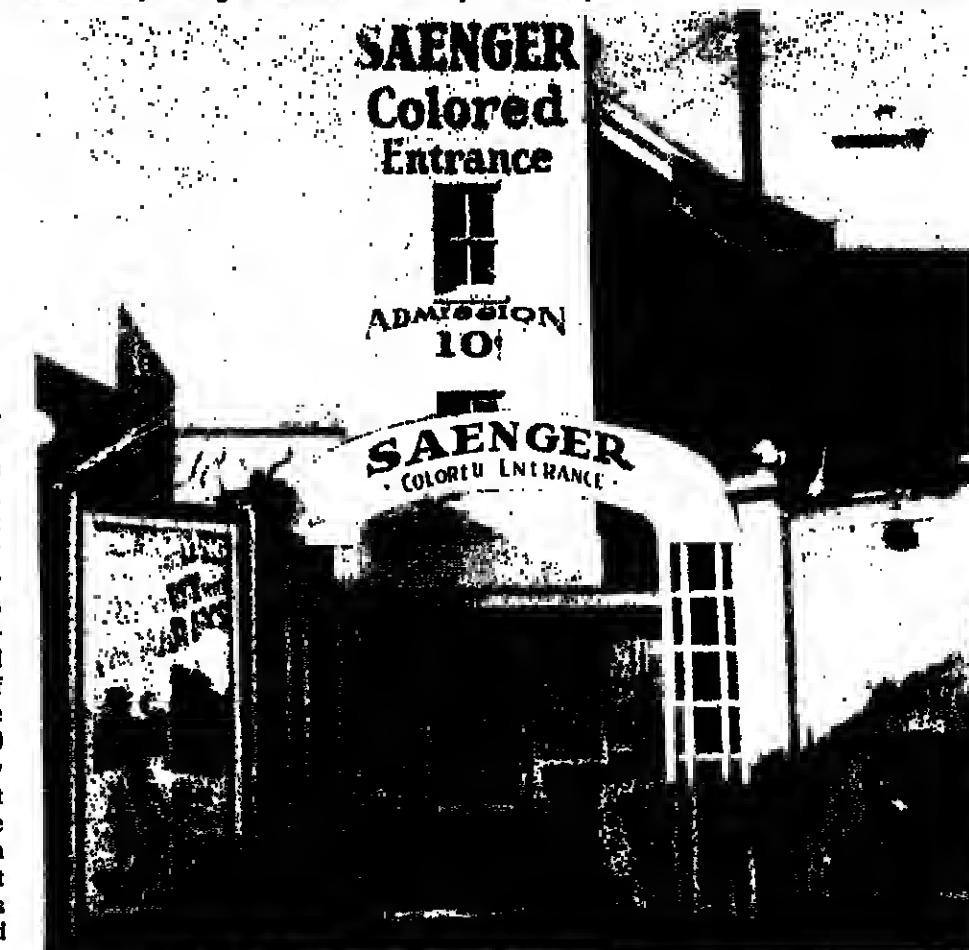
One possibility, and it cannot be dismissed without serious consideration, is simply the deep-seated racism of white Americans. Opinion and attitude partially determine the fate of a minority. And so we steadily take our temperature by way of public opinion polls designed to show what we think of blacks and how our thoughts are changing. In *Racial Attitudes in America*, Howard Schuman and his colleagues have taken a number of questions that have been frequently asked of a national sample since the 1940s and 50s by reputable public opinion organizations, and consider what they show about attitudes towards blacks. Public opinion polls are of course only tests of surface opinion, easily given and perhaps concealing deeper hostilities. Yet, as far as they go, they show a steady liberalization of American opinion through most of this period. For example, there is a rise to near unanimity in the percentage agreeing that blacks and whites should go to the same schools, should have the same access to public facilities, should have the right to live anywhere, and should be able to get any job they are qualified for. These may not seem like very advanced positions; yet on most of these questions only a minority took the liberal view the first time they were asked.

Since at least the early 1970s this increasing liberalization of opinion has been accompanied by resistance to some of the principal measures undertaken to desegregate schools and get better jobs for blacks. In particular, whenever the issue of federal intervention in education or the workplace is raised, there is a noticeable stiffening of opinion. Civil libertarians suspicious of the good will of the American people complain that racial fairness is only accepted until it affects individual interests. Those who believe in the basic fairness of the American people argue that the measures that have been adopted, generally by the courts — busing of school children, or quotas to ensure jobs for blacks — are opposed not because of racism, but because of commitment to traditional, locally-run school systems, or fears for the safety of children, or concern over the mixing of classes, rather than of race, or commitment to the very principles of colour-blindness under which the civil rights revolution was fought. Whatever the explanation, there has been a

regression of white opinion from accepted liberal positions in a number of areas since the early 1970s. But strangely enough, the same is true of black opinion. While more blacks than whites have always favoured federal intervention for school desegregation, the peak of black approval on this question was reached in 1968, declining thereafter. Black approval of federal intervention to ensure equal job opportunities has declined since 1972. Approval of federal aid to minorities has declined substantially among whites since the early

1970s. There is no reference, for example, to how EEO has changed the role of employment tests of all kinds, which have become the centre of extended battles over whether employment and promotion based on such tests is discriminatory, and are regularly thrown out as such by the courts. (Though to be fair, Burstein is critical of my own work for concentrating on just such "anecdotal" material.)

Some of Burstein's most general conclusions are indisputable: that EEO was implemented



A cinema in Pensacola, Florida in the 1930s. It is reproduced from *Black Americans* by Richard A. Long (192pp. Admiral Books, distributed by W. H. Smith, £10.95, 185171 001 9).

1970s, but has also declined slightly among blacks.

Liberalization in attitudes has thus occurred alongside resistance to policies intended to advance minority opportunity. Whether such policies are resisted because equality itself is resisted, or because federal intervention is resisted, is impossible to determine from the material analysed in this volume. Yet the trend of black opinion suggests that something other than racism is involved.

Unfortunately, there is nothing in *Racial Attitudes in America* on the issue that has become the most controversial in race relations: "affirmative action", or "positive discrimination". These are the measures, introduced not by statute but by a presidential Executive Order implemented by Federal regulations in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which required that employers who are federal contractors attempt to achieve certain "goals" (opponents call them "quotas") in the employment of women and members of minority groups.

One would expect to find more on this controversial issue in Paul Burstein's *Discrimination, Jobs, and Politics*, but Burstein limits his analysis to the background leading up to the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, declaring discrimination on grounds of race, sex and national origin in employment illegal, and the effects of that landmark law (which did not call for "affirmative action") on the economic position of the black minority and women.

The story is told primarily through the examination of the relationship of series of data over time, rather than through the analysis of historical events. It is not too surprising to discover that Congress was influenced by the steadily more liberal trend in public opinion, or that the increased number of public demonstrations demanding equal rights, and the increased coverage of such demonstrations by the press, was related to the eventual passage of national civil rights legislation. Although an impressive amount of work has gone into the construction of these data series, they provide very little sense of the concrete impact of equal employment opportunity law (EEO) on Amer-

icans as a result of the operation of political forces, including changes in public opinion and the civil rights movement. More doubtful are his conclusions as to its impact on the income of blacks and of women. Education, skills and motivation, are today far more important in changing the economic fate of minorities and women than the discrimination that once held them back, or the vigour of the enforcement agencies that were created twenty years ago to overcome discrimination. For example, one of the most striking changes in the position of women — their entry into law, medicine and business in large numbers — has had little to do with BEO, and a great deal to do with a change in women's conception of themselves.

A better sense of the limits of discrimination and law in explaining the variable economic performance of minority and ethnic groups is provided in *Ethnicity and Race in the United States*. This compilation, which includes a very good chapter on the current position of blacks by Reynolds Farley, goes on to consider American Indians, the key groups of Hispanics (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban), the different Asian groups, some European ethnic groups, and even "unhyphenated whites" — that small

minority who gave the unqualified answer "American" to the question, "What is your ancestry?" asked for the first time in the census of 1980 to help determine ethnicity. The articles are competent, and the book usefully summarizes current information and theory on why some ethnic and racial groups do well and others poorly.

But it would be impossible to develop any simple theory as to the reasons for black problems in the United States on the basis of the information found here. Some groups succeed in the face of prejudice, and others fail in its absence. This lesson, which could have been learned from the experience of the European and Asian immigrants of the great age of mass immigration that came to an end in 1924, is being brought home to us forcefully by the experience of the new immigrants made possible by the easing of immigration laws in 1965. We now fear that the new immigrants, in particular the Asians who make up half their number and who have fewer claims on us than our old and still troubled minorities, will surpass the latter economically, so creating resentment and anger.

This is perhaps one of the concerns that animates the provocative and radical proposal of Peter Schuck and Rogers M. Smith in *Citizenship Without Consent*. The authors, professors of law and political science at Yale, urge that "birthright citizenship" — the automatic grant of citizenship to anyone born on American soil — be withdrawn, and that citizenship be granted in the United States on the basis of "consent" rather than "ascription". The consent would have to be a mutual for citizenship to be granted: a person must consent to become a citizen, the polity must consent to accept him.

The argument for this type of citizenship, as against the prevailing *jus soli*, is grounded both in political philosophy and practical considerations. The practical argument relates to the large number of illegal (or "undocumented"), in a formulation that is struggling to supersede "illegal", with its presumption of law-breaking aliens in the United States. Their number cannot be assessed and is widely disputed. Schuck and Smith give "conservative" estimates of 3½ to 6 million, increasing by 200,000 a year. More recent estimates have been somewhat lower. The one figure that can be determined is that of people, mostly Mexicans, apprehended trying to cross the border into the United States without papers, which has been running at more than a million a year, and this year may rise to two million.

The presence of such large numbers of illegal aliens in the United States is a new phenomenon. Before the passage of severe restrictions in 1924, one could hardly be an illegal alien unless one were Asian. There were some other minor restrictions, but European immigration was basically unrestricted. And despite the severe restrictions that prevailed between 1924 and 1965 there was not much concern over the problem of illegal immigration. Only in the past ten years or so has it become an issue in the United States, and there is such a division of understanding and interests as to what kind of an issue it is, that we have been unable to decide on any policy to deal with it.

In principle, we all agree that the law should be obeyed. But those who employ illegal aliens

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posed racial drama seen as a crisis of the spirit, it is perhaps as well to remember the obvious: that men had long typed their neighbours by their most characteristic vices or their predominant humours. In the eighteenth century, even before the self-conscious psycho-physiology of the French *idéologues*, the moral correlates of supposed races, sometimes seen hierarchically, seem to have been often taken for granted. The humours still preside over Linnaeus's racial types: the American is choleric as well as copper-coloured, the European sanguine by nature as well as by complexion, and the African, being black, can hardly escape being phlegmatic. "Degeneration" too, with its moral as well as taxonomic implica-

Militant tendencies

C. A. Bayly

RICHARD G. FOX
Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the making
259pp. University of California Press. \$34.50.
052005491 1

Anyone who visited Delhi during the buildup of Sikh agitation against Mrs Gandhi's government or who was astonished by film of the armed followers of Bhindranwala, the militant Sikh leader, parading in the compound of the Golden Temple at Anandpur will find *Lions of the Punjab* interesting. The images were startling. The eighteenth century seemed to have been called in to redress the political balance of the Republic of India. Thousands of bearded and turbaned rural warriors flourishing swords, spears and ancient muskets regularly invaded the sedate streets of Lutyens's Delhi to march on the Prime Minister's house. The visual clash between the blues and lilacs of the Sikh turbans and banners and the pink buildings of the capital's garden city was sharp. Even more so was the contrast between the mundane issues involved — control of the Punjab National Bank, water rights for Punjab cultivators and the ownership of Le Corbusier's city of Chandigarh — and the apparently medieval call to Sikh martyrdom and defence of the faith. In one typical incident an elderly Sikh devotee jumped on the Mughal throne in the Delhi Red Fort shouting "Wah Guru" ("hail to the Guru", the Sikhs' traditional war-cry) as his young acolyte let off fireworks to mark the ceremonial conquest of this vanished imperial power, long-time enemy of the Sikhs. Startled tourists and bemused officials of the Indian museums service were brought face to face with what Richard G. Fox calls the puzzle of Sikh culture.

Together and apart

Dilip Hiro

ROZINA VISRAM
Aryas, Lascars and Princes: The story of Indians in Britain 1700-1947
336pp. Pluto Press. £15.95 (paperback, £8.95).
07453 00723

To comprehend the present we need to come to grips with the past honestly and truthfully: it is a cliché worth repeating. To understand the racial prejudice and discrimination prevalent in contemporary Britain we must look at the history of British attitudes towards racial minorities. In times when minorities were far less conspicuous than they are now, Peter Fryer's *Staying Power: The History of black people in Britain* (TLS, July 20, 1984) concentrated on the African and Afro-Caribbean peoples. *Aryas, Lascars and Princes* by Rozina Visram, a Tanzania-born schoolteacher in London, concerns itself exclusively with the Indians in Britain from 1700 to 1947. The book finds a perfect balance between the studies of the Indian groups and the short biographies of the most notable among them. It is painstakingly researched, scholarly, succinct and

tions, was a useful explanation of diversity within the framework of a fixed creation.

Sometimes in the nineteenth century, above all in writers touched by German idealism, we have something which seems close to much older ways of thinking than positivist racial psychology: something which approaches an almost medieval or Neoplatonic use of symbolic correspondences. Projected into a historical drama they turn history into something like an allegory of contending qualities embodied as "races". Thus, Jews stand for materialism and cunning, Negroes for sensuality (or body) divorced from soul, Aryans for creativity and spirituality, and their leading variety, Teutons, additionally for loyalty and simplicity. There is

much of this in Chamberlain. Again, the racial *dramatis personae* are often identified in terms of fundamental polarities: masculine/feminine, creative/sterile, vigour/decadence, simplicity/cunning, oriental/occidental and, of course, salvation or doom. Racial "adulteration" came notoriously to be expressed in metaphors of disease and parasitism. When races are seen as emblematic in this way, interbreeding, the confusion of types, comes to seem a collapse of the categories, of all stable identities; literally, as Chamberlain calls the decadence of Rome, "the Chaos". Some of these polarities, like the invocation of the fall of Rome, seem familiar from European intellectual history. There are echoes of the

slump after the First World War the situation became perilous. An agrarian protest launched by poor peasants erupted into what was called the Akali movement. This bloody agitation was ostensibly devoted to the reform and purification of Sikh shrines or *gurdwaras*, but it was infused with anti-British rhetoric and directed against the corrupt landlord guardians of these shrines who collaborated with the Raj. Fox implies that this "Third Sikh War" was one of the most violent and pervasive anti-colonial movements to occur in rural India between the 1857 Indian Mutiny and the Quit India movement of 1942.

Fox's analysis might seem a little stark for the professional economic historians who are still arguing about the precise rates of growth in rural Punjab over these years. But he does make one important point: that differential rates of development between the canal areas and the central Punjab created interregional dependencies. The real purpose of the work, however, is to ask why this rural protest was mobilized around the newly created militant Singh or Akali identity. Revived Hindu identity (the Aryo Samaj, for instance) would not have been appropriate because urban Sikhs and Hindus of the lower middle class were already pitted against each other along lines of religious community. But in the countryside the recruitment policies of the British Indian army, and their sedulous cultivation of the stereotype of the brave warrior Singh, had created a generation of peasants attuned to these themes. In 1920 the half-starved lions turned on their British tamers.

Fox's crisp presentation and militant tone are enhanced by his sallies against the lions of the American anthropological profession. What he calls the "Jejune" debate between cultural idealists, on the one hand, and materialists who want to reduce all culture to class formations actually acts to perpetuate a distorting orientalism. Worse, he says, certain

anthropologists at the University of Chicago have effectively perpetuated nineteenth-century British racial ideas by insisting that Indian culture sees castes as amalgams of biological and moral qualities. Instead Fox presses into service Raymond Williams, Pierre Bourdieu and others to argue that culture is constantly in creation in the context of class formation and opposition to dominant social groups.

There is much that is challenging and interesting here. Fox has cleverly foreshadowed the demise of the monolithic concept of "culture" in anthropology, and the rise of interest in the Punjab. But the book also leaves some doubts. Though Fox disclaims it, he sometimes gives the impression that culture is created in a vacuum. Myths, traditions, religious belief and training and, above all, religious organization get little attention. But these surely are the areas where we would expect to find the constraining force of religious and cultural tradition. The genealogies of rural teachers, the old links of religious teacher institutions, the veneration of holy spots and the power of legend: these were the things which tied the rural fighters of the 1920s to earlier phases of Sikh history. It is a history with great depth. Much of the army of Ranjit Singh, the great Sikh maharaja, had been recruited between 1820 and 1840 from these same villages of the central Punjab, some hundred years earlier than the period Fox concentrates on. It was the peasant ancestors of the later Akalis who had at that time battled against a "corrupt" Sikh aristocracy seen to have sold out to the British. This earlier fight, also, had been conducted in the idiom of Sikh martyrdom and the traditions of the true Khalsa.

Still, Fox gives us much to ponder. Jarnail Singh Bhindranwala's first name was, after all, a corruption of the English "general": powerful testimony of the impact on the Sikhs of the pomp and rank of the British Indian Army.

to hospitals and barracks was plain: to prevent any chance of sexual intercourse between them and white women. If the Indians were allowed to "conceive a wrong idea of Englishwomen's reputation", warned the Chief British Censor, then it would be "most detrimental to the prestige and spirit of European rule in India". Brown-white sexual liaison was a taboo and an obsession. When asked to provide Indian orderlies for the coronation of Edward VII, Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, hesitated. "Strange as it may seem," he wrote, "Englishwomen of the housemaid class, and even higher, do offer themselves to these Indian soldiers, attracted by their uniform, ennobled by their physique, and with a sort of idea that the warrior is also an Oriental prince."

Such a statement by arch-imperialist Curzon was hardly surprising. But what comes as a nasty shock is D. H. Lawrence's vituperative attack on Hinduism and Rabindranath Tagore, the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913. "One is glad to realize how these Hindus are horribly decadent and reverting to all forms of barbarism in all sorts of ugly ways", Lawrence wrote to Lady Ottoline Morrell in 1916. "This fraud of looking up to them — this wretched worship-of-Tagore-attitude is disgusting!" No area of British life was free of racial prejudice then; nor is it now.

The reason for keeping the Indians confined

Mobility and obstruction

John Rex

VAUGHAN ROBINSON
Transients, Settlers, and Refugees: Asians in Britain
261pp. Oxford University Press. £22.50.
0 19787009 5
KENNETH LUNN (Editor)
Race and Labour in Twentieth-Century Britain
186pp. Frank Cass. £19.15 (paperback, £9.50).
0 7146 3238 4

(in agriculture, manufacturing, hotels and restaurants, as well as for domestic help) argue they can't manage without them. Supporters of the free market oppose restriction on grounds of principle. Civil libertarians oppose the key measure proposed to control illegal immigration, sanctions on employers of illegal aliens, because this might require a national identity system, which they abhor. Mexican-American political leaders oppose restrictions as invidious (we almost always think of Mexican-Americans when we think of illegal aliens), and because they think it would lead to job discrimination against Mexicans and other Hispanics. And even the foreign policy establishment worries over the impact that stronger efforts to control immigration may have on Mexico, and on US relations with Mexico.

More radical Mexican-Americans claim they have a right to immigration: because they immigrate into territory that was once Mexican ("we didn't move, the border did"), or because Mexico's economic ills can be attributed to the United States, or because they object to the idea of economically advanced states controlling their borders in general.

Schuck and Smith trace the idea of citizenship by ascription to medieval and feudal law; citizenship by natural consent, which they consider more suited to the United States, they trace to John Locke and the Enlightenment. "In a polity whose chief organizing principle was the liberal, individualistic idea of consent, mere birth within a nation's border seems an anomalous, inadequate measure or expression of an individual's consent to its rule and a decidedly crude indicator of a notion's consent to the individual's admission to political membership." Their interest in examining the unchallenged assumption, automatic among citizens, non-citizens, courts and Congress, that birth grants citizenship does not only arise from a desire to bring the law of citizenship in line with the basic principles of the American polity. They hope a new law of citizenship will restrain illegal immigration, noting, for example, the widely-held belief that pregnant Mexican women cross the border to have their children on American soil so they will be citizens. To be related to a newborn American citizen gives advantages: it puts difficulties in the way of deportation proceedings; the child is entitled to welfare benefits that may be of considerable assistance to the parents; and at the age of maturity, the citizen can bring his parents into the country as legally resident aliens outside any immigration quota. The anomaly of the family that consists of both illegal aliens and citizens is very widespread: more than half of all illegal alien families also contain citizens, according to a Texas study cited by the authors.

There is some force in the Schuck-Smith argument: place of birth alone should not automatically entitle the children of those living in the United States illegally to citizenship. This is not the case in the United Kingdom or in the major European countries. But the notion that birth grants citizenship is so deeply ingrained in American consciousness that it is hard to see how it will be changed. There is, further, the overwhelming barrier of the Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in order to guarantee the citizenship of the freed slaves after the Civil War. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States..." Schuck and Smith argue that the phrase "subject to the jurisdiction thereof" was intended (among other things) to exclude Indians. But can such an argument on original congressional intent be used today? Or, if used, would it effectively justify such a change? Ironically, the amendment passed to guarantee the rights of the freed blacks after the Civil War serves as the major barrier to the Schuck-Smith proposal to limit the rights and numbers of illegal aliens who, many believe, compete with blacks and slow their progress. An amendment designed to advance the interests of blacks has been extended to protect the interests not only of other races and ethnic groups, but of immigrants and illegal aliens. Blacks, who have the leading claim on the American conscience, become as a result only one minority group among others. And as they fall behind others, the starkness of their position is emphasized, and we are left with a problem to which no one has a good answer.

These two volumes are especially welcome in that one, *Transients, Settlers and Refugees*, is written by a geographer and the other, *Race and Labour in Twentieth Century Britain*, is edited by a social historian, and while the first separates out the Asian minority in all its varieties from the blacks, the second places contemporary studies within the wider context of immigrant labour over the whole of the twentieth century. They differ in these respects from most studies of race relations in Britain, which have been conducted by sociologists who have emphasized the concepts of disadvantage and social class, and have concentrated on Asians and Afro-Caribbeans, considered collectively as "blacks".

Vaughan Robinson's highly competent study focuses on the Asian (both South Asian and East African Asian) community in Blackburn. It provides a picture of South Asians adopting themselves to social encapsulation, maintaining a strong "myth of return" and so not seeking to press social and political claims, while East Africans are more inclined to press for social mobility as they adjust to their refugee status and try to settle in (at least until they can go on to richer opportunities in the Old Commonwealth). Robinson supports this interpretation with very well-researched and well-presented evidence derived from a special

census of Asians in the town and an additional survey. I know of no equivalent study which is based on such good hard data and which is not loaded with speculation.

What is more important, however, is that Robinson seeks to place his data in a larger theoretical framework which can be applied to all Asians in Britain, combining both structural or constraining factors on the one hand and cultural motivation on the other. He thereby transcends the naive argument about whether Asian behaviour was due to constraint or choice. Although he has little sympathy with Marxism, Robinson none the less constructs a model which brings together class differentiation both in Britain and in the "sending societies". He draws on Parkin's Weberian model of "social closure": the strategy of the middle class is one of "exclusionary closure", of ensuring continued access to "life-chances" by excluding other classes; while the working-class strategy is one of "usurpatory closure", of mobilizing to capture rights denied to its members by the middle classes and, at the same time, of excluding outsiders.

Robinson also sees the colonial societies from which the Gujarati, Punjabi and East African settlers came as stratified, and the members of these societies (particularly those of the higher native "elites") as having their own goals for social mobility. In the East African case, these are similar to the goals of the middle classes in Britain, but for South Asians it is the pursuit of family honour which is of most importance. The East Africans in Britain adopt strategies of "usurpatory closure" towards whites, and "exclusionary closure" towards other Asians. The South Asians, in contrast, still at a stage where they think more of their countries of origin, do not resist their segregation and encapsulation in white society.

This view is developed in sophisticated detail, and serves to focus a great many of the problems which are thrown up by the Black-

burn data and by wider experience of Asian-British interaction. It is supplemented by another model, which enables us to distinguish both between the transients, settlers and refugees of the book's title and between the various linguistic and religious sub-ethnicities.

Race and Labour in Twentieth Century Britain is less theoretically complex. Lunn's main concern is to decide whether the behaviour of British workers towards immigrants is due to racism or whether it can be understood in terms of the logic of industrial relations under capitalism. He reviews the biases inherent in the social history of immigrant labour and goes on in a second chapter to look at the behaviour of East Europeans in a Cheshire salt-works, at new evidence of Jewish immigrant behaviour, and at the experience of Catholic Lithuanians in the Lanarkshire coal industry. His colourful and varied material is then supplemented to chapters by other authors on the Glasgow race disturbances of 1919, the seamster's community in Scotland during the 1939-45 war and, in the most interesting chapter, by Mark Duffield, on Asians in the West Midlands foundry industry in the post-war period.

These essays do not give a decisive answer to Lunn's central question. Much of what goes on is to be expected of workers caught between the strategies which Robinson describes, but there is much about what is said and done by trade unionists which might either be explained as racism or as a response to imperial and colonial social structure. In this context, it is interesting to read of Emmanuel Shinwell in the days of his rebellious campaign against the coal industry against coloured seamers. But it would be misleading to see this varied history in terms of precise hypothesis-testing. The contributors have recovered from the cooperator press and other sources a vivid picture of industrial and anti-immigrant struggles to the earlier part of the century, a valuable exercise in itself.

full and frank interviews about the events described in the book. It is ironic that the hero of Mullard's story, the radical new Director, A. Sivaraman, was not prepared to provide the author with similar facilities. Evidently, as a university professor and recipient of substantial government funds from the Social Science Research Council, Mullard was not sufficiently "black" to be trusted.

The best part of the book is the simple description of events, enlivened by quotations from the participants themselves. Set up in the early 1950s, the Institute of Race Relations was the brainchild of the Establishment. It was conceived by the clubs of Pall Mall, financed initially by multi-national companies and later by the major Foundations, and led by a retired Indian Civil Servant and writer, Philip Mason. Mason ran it with all the authority of a miniature Raj, but by the time of his retirement had established it as one of the major research centres on race relations in the world. Mason and his Council colleagues were listened to by Whitehall and Westminster and set about influencing policy through an interlocking network of pressure groups and institutions, like the Runnymede Trust and the Community Relations Commission.

Mason retired from the Directorship just as the black power movement was beginning to have some impact in Britain. His successor, Hugh Tinker, a respected historian of genuinely liberal temperament, was soon caught between the neo-Marxist and black power militants on his research staff and the conservative industrialists and establishment figures who ran the Council. Tinker tried to adapt the Institute to the new climate of opinion by allowing genuine debate about its fundamental objectives and by encouraging staff participation in decision-making. This gave the militants the opportunity to wrest control from the Council, and take over the Institute itself. The so-called "revolution" which achieved this end was a result of their greater ability to mobilize their supporters; they simply out-voted the old Council members at an Extraordinary General Meeting. But the victory proved to be a hollow one. The Institute immediately lost its funding and was transformed into a small black

pressure-group whose influence on British race relations remains obscure. Serious academic work ceased and research on race relations reverted to the universities, where perhaps it should have remained in the first place.

Mullard's second aim, to develop a theory of resistance based on this case-study, is not realized. Part of the problem lies in his mutilation of the English language. For example, he describes the militants' growing sense of racial identity in the following terms: "In other words, the subjective component in consciousness could not develop out of the emotional space created until the reflective sub-process of relating had been completed." But there is a more fundamental problem with his theoretical interpretation that not even this sort of linguistic smokescreen can disguise. It is not that his emphasis on power is implausible, but simply that he fails to pursue it to its logical conclusion. There is little evidence that these events represented a "successful attempt to resist white power and to appropriate the material and other resources of the Institute for the benefit of the victims of racism". One could make just as convincing a case that the antics of the Institute did as much to strengthen the forces of reaction and racism in British society as to undermine them. In reality, they probably had very little effect either way. If this book has any value, it is as a cautionary tale about the manner in which self-delusions are created and sustained when individuals start to believe their own rhetoric.

Europe and Its Others, Volumes One and Two, edited by Francis Baker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley (193pp and 199pp. University of Essex. £7.95 set. 0 901726 25 7 and 0 901726 26 9) contains the proceedings of the 1984 Essex Sociology of Literature Conference. Contributions include Jose Rabasa's "Allegories of the *Atlas*", Edward W. Said's "Orientalism Reconsidered", Olivier Richon's "Representation, the Despot and the Herem", Some questions around an academic orientalist plotting by Léonide-Du Nolly (1885) and Gordon Brotherston's "Towards a Grammatology of America: Lévi-Strauss, Derrida and the Native New World Text".

Prejudice and politics

Michael Banton

Are Sikhs an ethnic group? Not said Judge Goosing in the Birmingham County Court. Not said Lord Denning and two other Lord Justices of Appeal. Yes! said five judges in the House of Lords. Judicial interpretation of the words "colour, race or ethnic or national origins" is building up. Several cases have now been decided that help define direct and indirect discrimination. The recently introduced Public Order Bill proposes to extend the scope of the criminal law about the stirring up of hatred against a racial group and the possession of racially inflammatory material. Over the long term, legal developments will have a potent influence upon political and popular conceptions of race and ethnicity.

The Court of Appeal found that Sikhs were a religious group. For Lord Denning "ethnic" meant "pertaining to race". The House of Lords took note of a New Zealand decision that Jews in that country formed a group with common ethnic origins. They declared that an ethnic group had to regard itself, and be regarded by others, as distinct by virtue of a shared history and cultural tradition. Characteristics of geography, language, literature, religion and minority status might be relevant though not essential.

The development of legal vocabulary in this field will be the more extensive because in 1969 the United Kingdom ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It thereby accepted additional obligations; for example, to penalize "all dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority", and to prohibit organizations "which promote and incite racial discrimination". These provisions have to be adjusted to the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly, enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. So legislative advance is necessarily slow and has to be supplemented by education. Under the Convention the UK has promised to adopt "immediate and effective measures" in education to combat "prejudices which lead to racial discrimination".

Legal terminology is relatively precise and it might be well were social scientists to follow the legal definitions whenever possible. Yet any legal definition of "prejudices which lead to racial discrimination" for use in prosecutions would run into difficulties were it to be based on prejudice as an attitude rather than on discrimination as witnessed in observable behaviour. Psychologists need a definition of prejudice which permits various kinds of attitudes to be related to evidence about personality. Their purposes are different from the lawyers'.

Another word which may overstate legal definition is *racism*. Introduced in the 1930s, it was given new meanings in the later 1960s and has become a catch-all expression. As a result, the United Nations General Assembly was able in 1975 to determine that "Zionism is a form of racism". Criticizing that decision, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the United States Ambassador to the UN and a social scientist, reported that the only previous occasion on which the UN had discussed the meaning of racism was in 1968 when the Convention on Racial Discrimination was being considered. At that time, a question arose as to the relative positioning of "racism" and "Nazism" in a number of preambular paragraphs. The representative of the Soviet Union declared that Nazism contained all the male elements of racism and therefore should be mentioned first. Moynihan thought that the earlier meaning of racism as a doctrine should be preserved, for "if racism is a form of Nazism, and if - as this resolution declares - Zionism is a form of racism, then we have step by step taken ourselves to the point of proclaiming that Zionism is a form of Nazism". Moynihan, alas, was on the losing side.

When lawyers go to a criminal court they may appear for either the prosecution or the defence. They examine with particular care the texts of statutes, or of previous judgments, and the words of the indictment, so that they are ready to reply to argument. This promotes agreement about terminology. Social scientists, when they write about racial relations, resemble prosecuting counsel when they

arraign the prejudice and discrimination of the dominant group; they resemble defence counsel when they explain the behaviour of the subordinate group. Rarely nowadays do they defend the former or subject the latter to harsh cross-examination. This bias can be defended as a humane counter-weight to a more serious bias in the wider society, but it means that concepts are fashioned to serve the purposes of advocates who do not represent both sides.

Writing in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1956, Howard S. Becker described a book of mine as making excuses for the behaviour of coloured immigrants. "When the English get a little more accustomed to having a race problem at home," he wrote, "we will perhaps get more solid and less 'ethical' reports of what is going on." Since 1956 the political nature of what people used to call "race problems" has become more apparent and this has affected sociological writing on both sides of the Atlantic. Greater sensitivity to the political dimension has been invigorating but it has created its own barriers. Mainstream social scientists see racial questions as a terrain of bruising controversy and tend to keep clear. There have been moves towards curriculum ghettos with black studies, chicano studies, women's studies, etc., taught by members of the groups in question. Most historians of the Holocaust have been Jewish, understandably perhaps, but it would be unfortunate if Gentile historians were to feel that they therefore had less responsibility for the study of this tragedy. It is correspondingly bad if social scientists of the ethnic majority neglect questions of minority relations.

Another American, R. A. Schermerhorn, noted one consequence of this bias in 1970 when he remarked that "a great many American sociologists, immersed in their own society, have developed a sort of patos of minorities as 'victims'". Though the remark was not directed at black scholars it had a special relevance for them. The cultural distinctiveness of Afro-Americans had been almost destroyed. The prospect of assimilation on terms dictated by the majority had no appeal. National policies to eliminate discrimination and equalize opportunities seemed insufficient since blacks were entering a race with so great a historical handicap. In changing the terms on which blacks would negotiate, the cultivation of black pride and black solidarity were crucial. Black intellectuals had to be immersed in their own group just as nationalist scholars, musicians and writers have concentrated upon their groups' traditions at the formative periods of other national movements.

With pardonable exaggeration it has been claimed that there are no unhyphenated Americans, only Anglo-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanic-Americans and so on. The United States is a pluralistic society with many minorities and victim groups. The 1960s put the spotlight of publicity on the black-white division at the expense of others. Issues were polarized. Some still argue that if black inequality is not attributable to black inferiority it can be blamed only on white racism. As Howard Brotz has emphasized, this is to assume that the black man is totally shaped by external conditions and must therefore lack the moral qualities of free agent. Moreover, such an oversimplification fails to identify the sources of black handicap.

The Afro-American orthodoxes have been attacked most sharply by two economists: Walter Williams, author of a syndicated column and Thomas Sowell. Since *Race and Economics* in 1975, Sowell has published a further eight books around this theme. Sowell criticizes the view that a minority's economic state depends upon its environment, but he does not swing to the opposite extreme of tracing it to the group's culture. Like other economists, he insists that bygone are bygone so that it is pointless to agonize over the past. Nevertheless, lessons can be learned from examining the historical interaction between environment and culture to see how it has led to the growth (or sometimes the diminution) of the "human capital" of ethnic groups.

The physical devastation of German and Japanese cities during the Second World War was a destruction of physical capital. The abilities of the people, their human capital, enabled them to turn loss into profit and to overtake countries whose physical capital had suffered

less. In *The Economics and Politics of Race* (1983) Sowell explains that human capital includes education, discipline, organizational talent, foresight, frugality and simple good health. Those with plenty of it limit their families so that they can transmit human capital to their children. They contribute so much to economic growth that they raise the living standards of those people who have less capital and dissipate even that by having many children. So the human capital of the successful is to be conserved in the public interest. Such an argument needs to be applied with care, particularly with regard to policies for alleviating poverty. In its historical application it shares the weakness of most sociological theorizing, being an interpretation after the event of why things took the course they did. Apart from the number of years passed in classrooms, there is no independent measure of the presence or quality of human capital.

Williams and Sowell demand to be taken seriously as economists, not as blacks, and this infuriates those who put black solidarity first. The political tide is turning against them anyway, for blacks are obtaining electoral majorities in many cities and their leaders are being drawn into national structures of political bargaining. The growth in the Spanish-speaking population (partly black) is strengthening the extent to which the overall pattern resembles a mosaic rather than a simple black-white split. Sowell's writing makes good use of these opportunities for comparison.

In Britain, current thinking is still overwhelmingly dominated by the ideas of the 1960s. Many social scientists and their students still bracket questions of racial relations with the politics of immigration control. In this perspective the Conservative government's 1962 Act was both inspired by racial prejudice and a generator of further prejudice. The record of the 1964-70 Labour government is deplored. From this bad start, everything seems to have got worse, again by interpretation after the event. I suspect that if, ten years ago, the

specialists had been asked to forecast the effect upon minority relations of an increase in unemployment to well over three million, we would have predicted that the minorities would be used as scapegoats to a much greater extent than has actually been the case.

Publishers are still very ready to bring out academic books about racial relations in Britain. They seem to sell quite well and this testifies to a substantial and educated concern about the subject. Yet the mood is so often pessimistic, as is seen in the tendency to disparage the very considerable effects of the Race Relations Acts upon white behaviour. Fearful of encouraging complacency, the writers refrain is that the government is not doing enough and that there are troubles ahead that more determined action could remedy. Yet the prescriptions are usually very general.

Those who have been attracted to the study of racial relations in recent years are generally sympathetic to the view that historical trends can best be understood in terms of class formation. This has reinforced their tendency to speak as prosecutors of the dominant groups and to study problems which harmonize with their ideological assumptions. Thus a disproportionate attention has been paid to the National Front. The concept of racism has been used uncritically to relate individual behaviour to a political context, often as part of a polemical representation of the state and the mass media as responsible for white prejudice. Scarcely anyone carries out research into racial attitudes any more, so that there is no systematic information about the ideas of race to which people actually subscribe or about the influence of these upon behaviour. In the more general studies the tendency is always to concentrate upon the majority-minority division and to neglect the divisions within the minorities.

The British are now accustomed to having what Becker called a race problem, but there are no separate categories of hyphenated Britons on the United States pattern. Blacks,

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The integration process

Duncan Gallie

R. D. GRILLO
Ideologies and Institutions in Urban France:
The representation of immigrants
328pp. Cambridge University Press. £27.50.
0521 301793

In this boldly conceived book, R. D. Grillo has set out to examine the problems of immigrants in France through the eyes of the host society. He is concerned to unravel the ideological assumptions both of the state agencies that handle the housing, welfare and educational difficulties of immigrants and of those groups that claim to represent immigrant interests.

The focus of the study is Lyon in the mid-1970s. Although this was before the full force of recession began to savage the labour market, the situation of immigrants in Lyon (particularly those from Northern Africa) was already bleak. They were increasingly lodged in "institutional" accommodation and were heavily concentrated in poor-quality jobs. Their children were processed by an elitist educational system that disproportionately streamed the immigrants into lower-level courses, thereby perpetuating the pattern of disadvantage in the labour market.

The actions of the state organizations and state-subsidized associations that sought to

monitor, guide and control the immigrant population had as their cardinal objective, "integration" – seeking to turn immigrants into French men and women. These organizations saw the problems of the immigrant population in terms of the clash between traditional cultural values and the more "evolved" values of French society. Thus hostel directors had the luckless task of trying to develop programmes of activities that would increase residents' awareness and education, social assistants set out to teach North African women the values of housekeeping virtues and childrearing practices of French women, and those responsible for education turned their attention to remedial programmes designed to accelerate acquisition of the French language.

Through the successive stages of this argument Grillo builds up a powerful picture of the institutional distance between the centres of policy-making and the immigrant community. In seeking to address and influence the organizations that so pervasively governed their lives, immigrants were obliged to turn to representatives who were themselves predominantly French and distant from their own immediate experiences. Only such organizations knew the processes by which power was exercised and the language in which demands had to be couched to be effective, but because such representation was indirect even this relationship turned into one of dominators and dominated. Immigrants' interests were expressed most directly by the left-wing trade unions. These advanced a counter-interpretation of the "immigrant problem" to that of the authorities, but they were just as much concerned to incorporate immigrant needs and aspirations into their own pre-existing conceptual schemes and to use them to further their own interests.

In addressing these issues, Grillo raises the

intriguing question of the possibilities and limitations of anthropological research in advanced societies. He shows how hard it is to deploy conventional fieldwork techniques in an urban industrial setting. Participant observation, in a highly privatized society, where strangers are regarded with suspicion, is extraordinarily difficult. Whatever is distinctively anthropological about this book, then, stems from two features of his method. The first is a close concern with issues of language. Grillo unravels the ideological assumptions of those he is analysing by examining the meanings of a number of central concepts in their discourse. At the same time, he is concerned with the role of language in determining social processes – for instance in the peculiar isolation of immigrants or in the problem of their representation. Second, Grillo focuses on certain key events – which range from a ministerial speech, to meetings, and to strikes. He prefers dynamic situations to more formal interviews (although in practice he gathered much of his information from the latter).

However, Grillo's method provides us with few assurances that we know, even in the limited and rather distinctive context of Lyon, the typical perceptions either of those who work for the state agencies or for the trade unions. Nor, given the absence of direct information about the immigrants themselves, can we readily assess the strength of the key argument that distortions are introduced through the system of representation. Grillo's work provides a rich source of ideas. However, given what we know about the diversity of opinion in the complex institutional structures of advanced societies, only further research will provide us with a well-grounded knowledge of the prevalence of the experiences and patterns of thought that he so evocatively describes.

Identifying Wales

Ned Thomas

TONY CURTIS (Editor)
Wales: The Imagined Nation: Studies in
cultural and national identity
306pp. Glamorgan: Poetry Wales Press.
£14.95 (paperback, £5.95).
090746358

The late Saunders Lewis's 1962 radio lecture *Tynged yr Iaith* (The Fate of the Language) marked the onset of an aggravated crisis among Welsh-speaking intellectuals and contributed to the limited resurgence of the Welsh language over the last twenty-five years. A later radio lecture, the historian Owyn A. Williams's *When Was Wales?* (subsequently also the title of his one-volume history), seems to be taking on a similar function for the Welsh-identifying anglophone intelligentsia which is mainly associated with the South Wales industrial (or post-industrial) triangle. Their sense of crisis derives on the one hand from the loss of this industrial base, and on the other from the growth of the Welsh-language media.

Although Gwyn A. Williams is not a contributor to *Wales: The Imagined Nation*, he stands behind a great deal of what is attempted here. His assertion that "Wales is a process. Wales is an artefact which the Welsh produce. The Welsh make and remake Wales day by day, year by year, generation after generation if they want to", stands at the head of the introduction, and gives a kind of unity and purpose to a collection of otherwise fairly disparate and uneven essays. Some deal with the past, either in long perspective, or in close case-study. Others deal with recent developments in the theatre, visual arts, poetry and the media, and some of the latter show not so much that the Welsh are producing valid images of themselves as that they badly need to do so.

But images are slippery things. Is one free to invent anything, any world of possibility; or are not effective images, as Prys Morgan prudently suggests in the opening essay, always a selection and highlighting of what in some sense, is already there? The volume could well have done with the inclusion of a sociologist's or a political scientist's views on contemporary Wales. Then there is the question of levels of

interpretation. Are images to be taken as conscious or unconscious expression, or as both at the same time? Are they reflections of simple class positions, or are critics allowed to exist within classes? Again, are images powerful only to the extent to which they hold various and contrary readings in tension?

Across these questions there falls another: in what sense do dependent cultures make themselves, or are they made from outside? In the most ambitious and innovative essay, Tony Bianchi hangs a whole sociology of Welsh and Anglo-Welsh literature in the last twenty-five years on a discussion of R. S. Thomas and his readers. It seems churlish to complain of an essay that ranges from well-handled cultural history to illuminating close readings that it should also have provided a sociology of English literature in the same period; and yet not to do so prevents one's understanding the full process. R. S. Thomas's reputation, like Dylan Thomas's, was made in England and was already set in certain moulds before it could be appropriated in Wales. Dai Smith makes an excellent case for reading Gwyn Thomas's work as a surrealist response to a unique industrial culture in disintegration – he quotes Gwyn Thomas like C. S. Lewis quoted late Latin, leaving the reader so enthused that turning to the books themselves brings slight disappointment – and yet it becomes clear, taking Owyn Thomas's career as a whole, that it was thrown off course by his London publishers and their English expectations. In the essays on film and media there can be no pretence that the Welsh are producing themselves (though a look at the Welsh-language media could have offered an interesting contrast).

The question of language is, of course, unavoidable. Down the centuries the Welsh mainly produced their view of themselves in Welsh. Whatever elements were borrowed, whatever trends were imitated, the product in the end lived or died "by native affrage" (as Daniel Corkery put it in an Irish context); by the response to words within a group which shared its own set of terms within which to disagree. Other places have developed versions of English. It may not be impossible to do this in Wales; two hours by Inter-City train from London, but it is certainly far harder than most of the contributors to this volume allow.

Narrating the nation

Benedict Anderson

Next year we will be commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the nation-state. In the late spring of 1787, delegates from twelve North American former colonies gathered in Philadelphia to draw up a document which was meant to "constitute" a wholly novel sovereign polity, the Republic of the United States of America. Two years later this text was ratified by a sufficient number of state legislatures to be promulgated as a wholly binding Constitution. Today the members of the United Nations number over 160, and the extraordinary invention of 1787 has become an unproblematic planetary norm. If a minority of kingdoms, emirates and duchies survive, they are the less appear before the General Assembly in national guise. Thus Queen Beatrix is everywhere understood to represent the Dutch not the House of Orange, and King Phumiphon Adulyadej, the Thai not the Chakri dynasty.

Yet the strange thing is that this modern invention, so faithfully imitated around the world that virtually all states conceive of themselves as basically the same kind of state, everywhere also finds this modernity denied. All nations, even those whose recent access to independent sovereign statehood is scarcely deniable, imagine themselves as old. There can be little doubt that it is largely this putative antiquity which, these days, if not in 1787, gives the nation-state its deep psychological hold and its political legitimacy.

No one has formulated this paradox better than Ernest Renan, who in his celebrated *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* of 1882, wrote:

Or, l'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses. Tout citoyen français doit avoir oublié la Saint-Barthélemy, les massacres du Midi au XIII^e siècle.

At first sight these words may appear straightforward. But quickly the reader notices two oddities. The first is that Renan saw no reason to explain to his readers that la Saint-Barthélemy refers to a ferocious anti-Protestant pogrom launched on August 24, 1572, by the Valois dynast Charles IX and his mother, the (Florentine) Catherine de Medici, or that by the thirteenth-century massacres in the Midi he meant the extermination of the Albigensians over the broad zones between the Pyrenees and the Southern Alps at the instigation of Pope Innocent III, one of the gullest in a long line of guilty popes. Quite casually he assumed that his (French) audience would "remember" events that took place 300 and 600 years earlier, without in the least finding this memory remarkable. The second is the peremptory syntax of *doit avoir oublié* (not *doit oublier*) – "is obliged to have forgotten", as it were – which suggests, in the ominous style of internal revenue codes and laws on military conscription, that "already forgetting" these ancient tragedies is a civic duty. Renan's contemporaries were thus being told to "have already forgotten" what Renan's language at the same time assumed that they automatically remembered. In fact, his phrases suggest something stranger still: that Frenchness, in the 1880s and forever after, required an endless process of almighty "remembering" and "already forgetting" Saint Bartholomew's Eve and the Albigensian massacres.

Renan's discourse is suggestive in two other respects. On the one hand, the assumed protagonists of these antique atrocities are understood as "fellow-Frenchmen", not as Catholics and Protestants, or Roman orthodoxes and heretics; in other words, they are participants in reassuringly "civil" wars. On the other hand, Renan does not oblige his readers to "have already forgotten" the fall of the Bastille, Thermidor, or the Eighteenth Brumaire. Doubtless, no one in the France of 1882 seriously contemplated massacring Protestants or Catholics, and the Albigensians had fortunately been exterminated centuries earlier (whereas the Revolution, to say nothing of the Commune, were still only too unforgettable). It was not too hard, accordingly, to situate these episodes as murders of *brothers* rather than as murders of enemies. Such remembered/forgetting killings are read, as all fratricides must be, under the sign of "family".

Young Americans are obliged to remember/forget the war of 1861–65 as a civil war between brothers, not as one between – as they briefly were – two sovereign nations. Recent Soviet films and novels are beginning to cast the class war between Reds and Whites, straddling dozens of nationalities, from 1918 to 1920 as a ferociously tender "civil war" among "us Russians". (Traces of the same process can be detected in the way elderly, exiled Vietnamese, Pakistani and Indonesian nationalists pick up without qualms their pension cheques from governments in Paris, London and The Hague.)

But, why do nations celebrate their hoariness, not their astonishing youth? Why are untold sums of money spent each year to teach the young to "remember" certain things that they are simultaneously taught to "have already forgotten"? Why do English children need to be informed about their King, William the Conqueror (but conqueror of what? England?), yet not of the fact that he spoke no English, or indeed that "English" did not exist in his historical epoch. It would be a mistake to see in this simply an icy state Machiavellianism. For nationhood is just as unproblematic a frame of reference for political leaders today as Buddhism once was for pious, bloodthirsty Burmese monarchs, or Christianity for praying, preying conquistadors.

More likely, the answer lies precisely in the very novelty of the imagined community of the nation. It is perhaps easy today to forget the almost religious aura with which nationalism is embraced when it first appears. The most spectacular example is the decision taken by the National Convention in October 1793 to abolish the age-old Christian calendar and open a new human era – the Year One – beginning with the abolition of the monarchy on September 22, 1792. But the sudden, enormous outpouring of national vernacular poetry, novels, collections of folklore, music and dictionaries so characteristic of "first-generation" nationalism bears everywhere all the signs of revelation or of a radical change in consciousness.

But revelation always brings with it a necessary amnesia. Insofar as awareness of sexual maturity in adolescence is in some societies experienced as a revelation, it simultaneously conjures up an irretrievable, no longer comprehensible innocence. When T. E. Lawrence finally succeeded in revealing to his Bedouin friends that the charcoal-smudged sheets of paper he presented to them were their portraits, it became impossible for them to "remember" what it was like to see them as simply dirty paper. Similar changes in consciousness explain the thousands of childhood days you absolutely cannot recall, and the mixed feelings with which you learn, from others, that those yellowing photographs are indeed "you", since you cannot recognize yourself in them. At the same time, prepubertal innocence and unrecognizable infant photographs only assume importance when they are essential points of reference for a specific, modern conception of biography and autobiography – a conception which requires a distinct style of narration.

The conventional autobiography, for example, almost invariably opens with unremembered information, and tropes of continuity. Thus, the author may tell us the date on which she was born, for which she must rely on circumstantial documentary evidence; and inform us about parents and grandparents, partly because they offer the most convincing testimony for what she cannot remember herself, but also because our idea of personhood, rooted in psychology and secular sociology, requires a framing in family genealogy and social history. (To see how odd this form of narration is one has only to look at its absence in the ancient world, or indeed in most of the non-European world until quite recently. For example, in the long genealogy of Jesus which opens the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, females are wholly excluded and no male is given an occupation or social background. The drone of "begats" serves only to link Christ religiously to the Abraham of the Covenant, and ultimately to the First Man.) From there the narrative proceeds, across innumerable ellipses of unremembered days, to those key moments in a life which only become such because of the form of that life's employment.

The appearance of national consciousness in various places in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (for reasons too complex to enter into here) brought with it its own amnesia – the impossibility, if you like, of "remembering" the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve as it was understood by its perpetrators and victims, i.e. as an episode in the holy struggle against heresy or against papistry *tout court*. At the same time, the "unrecognizability" of the Massacre of 1572 – like the unrecognizability of the childhood photo – does not at all mean that it is simply left in the kind of oblivion that surrounds the harvest of 1572. Rather it is re-deployed under a new complex of signs, and becomes a "scene" in a new form of narrative, a narrative of reassuring fratricide. It is thus turned into "la Saint-Barthélemy" which the national Frenchman notes with the same casually recognizing "ah oui" that he has learned to utter as he flips through the family album. Just as the photo reassures him that this is indeed the history of his family, so the Massacre, in a certain narrative vein, confirms that what is being read is indeed the history of France.

We are aware that it is quite possible to "forget" St Bartholomew's Eve. In all the 1,200-odd pages of his magisterial *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Fernand Braudel makes no mention of it. The *Annales* school has taught us to think of history in "eventless" terms – as the working out of slow, deep demographic, economic and cultural change, in a way reminiscent of the biologist clocking the seven-year cycle in which every single cell in any human body is completely replaced. The steady murmur of statistics – births, deaths, marriages, exports, prices and so on – rejects almost everything on which Renan insisted. Classical Marxism is, in this regard, no less amnesiac, if for different reasons.

The question is what makes attractive the kind of historical employment in which Raymond of Toulouse and William the Conqueror need to be remembered in order to have "already been forgotten"? Or, to put it another way, an employment that makes the reader "remember" these figures in the "ah oui" style that immediately encourages their forgetting? The jump-cut periodization of much nationalist historiography is quite revealing in this regard. Vietnamese nationalist historians insist on an unpeeped-thousand-year-old history of the Vietnamese nation; but little time is wasted on the 900 years (between c. 40 and 939 AD) in which "Vietnam" was a more or less peaceable part of the Celestial Empire. A fast-forward rushes the reader from the heroic resistance of the Trung sisters to the founding of the independent Ngo dynasty. A popular American encyclopaedia devotes four pages to the 170 years between the founding of Jamestown and the Declaration of Independence, but forty-eight pages to the subsequent 180 years up to Eisenhower's second presidential inauguration. Certain elasticities are just as striking. Indonesia, whose mongrel classical etymology betrays its nineteenth-century European inventing, remembered its past quite differently before and after 1918, when the French epigrapher and historian Georges Coedès published his discovery of the existence, from the seventh to the fourteenth century AD, of the great Sumatra-based maritime empire of Srivijaya. And H. E. Marshall's splendid *English Literature for Boys and Girls*, published in 1910, innocently began its survey with the *Book of the Dun Cow*. Twelve years later, London's recognition of the Irish Free State made a different origin essential.

These curiosities show that for all of the Jacobin bravado of Year One, the way the nation is imagined is ancestral. There can be little doubt that this quest for ancient roots derives partly from the fact that nations find themselves attached to specific geographical spaces (even if in practice there is some elasticity in the boundaries) and their individuality manifested through specific vernacular languages (if these vernaculars are shared with other nations, there is always a characteristic national inflection). Almost nothing seems as primordial as ancient, without historically datable origins, nature and language. Thus for all the newness of the moment of national consciousness, the nation's most prized possession

many nationalist narratives, the trope of a brilliant "awakening" from an historic sleep.

But there is more to it than this. Nations are distinguished from the great imagined communities that preceded them – the world-religions and dynastic kingdoms – by their secularity and their inherently limited stretch. There was, in principle, always the possibility of a wholly Islamic planet, or a world-empire. No one was automatically excluded from membership in these communities, which, after all, invariably had the divine hand behind them. Nations, however, cannot be imagined except in the midst of an irremediable plurality of other nations. They can be exterminated – by the modern crime of genocide. (If the targets of pre-nineteenth-century mass murders may, to our contemporary eyes, appear as "nations", they were not thought of as such by the murderers.) But they cannot be absorbed into a single world-nation. This necessary plurality means that no matter if Poles or Americans occasionally feel themselves to be under special divine guidance, there is a profoundly secular underpinning to the idea that everyone has a right to their own nationhood, and that this right is properly exemplified in the one-nation, one-vote protocol of the United Nations General Assembly.

At the same time, the nation also inherits from its predecessors the idea that it is natural. And buried in the idea of the natural there is always a sense of fatality. Most people today feel they have as little choice in their nationality as in their parentage. It is just this secular fatality, in a plural world of nations, that makes history the necessary basis of the national narrative. This history-narrative, however, to reach its literary climax in today's sovereignty among other parallel sovereignties, has to distinguish itself from the other narratives available – Christian, Islamic, Marxist, Braudelian, etc. (These are either too grandly universal, or too remorselessly microscopic.) Out of the ceaseless flow of everyday deaths which mean that by 1986 there has been a complete change from 1880 in the physical body of "the French" some deaths must stand out, in the way that in autobiographies some days or years must do.

These deaths, which we might, following Renan, call memorable deaths, are of two distinct kinds. On the one hand, there are collective political deaths which occur after the truly historical formation of the nation – the anonymous hecatombs of inter-national and civil wars commemorated in cenotaphs and tombs of unknown soldiers. (There are no pre-national cenotaphs.) On the other hand, there are all those princely deaths, poetic suicides, exemplary martyrdoms and stately executions, which, occurring before the national moment, can yet be seized from Braudel's accumulating cemeteries. It is above all the reading of these deaths as political, and their serial alignment along Walter Benjamin's "homogeneous, empty time", that structure the national narrative. It is indeed only this narrative that makes each death not an end, but a foreshadowing of each succeeding death, in a long movement towards a resplendent living present. (One can see the force of this style of narration if one tries to imagine writing the "real end" of a nation's history, or even full-stopping a national history in the midst of any great collective catastrophe.) This is why la Saint-Barthélemy and the thirteenth-century massacres in the Midi need simultaneously to be remembered and forgotten.

Recently published is *Race and Ethnicity* by John Rex (148pp. Open University Press. 0335-1585 2), one of the Open University's "Concepts in the Social Sciences" series.

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browns and whites live in the same areas and have to share common services. There is separation, of course, and in some areas Asians live in fief. But the children mix in schools and the streets and many friendships cross the lines of colour. The structure of the majority society, particularly its electoral system, discourages minority organization and opens up the prospect of a kind of integration different from that of the United States. After a slow start, British academics have analysed the domestic "race problem" in ways which may still be considered less "solid" than American writing because of differences in the available statistics, and more "ethical" because the political issues have distinctive facets. Yet the British debate is intellectually more vigorous than any corresponding literature in the United States and it will improve as its base is broadened. More social scientists are now employed outside the universities, where they will take up questions neglected by the academics. Since the minorities are heterogeneous and there are divisions of opinion within each one, the small but growing number of research workers who come from the minorities will bring another corrective influence. When British social scientists put the 1960s behind them and lift their sights a little they will consolidate the important rule they already play in the international study of racial and ethnic relations.

Multi-curricular

Sushella Nasta

JAMES LYNCH
Multicultural Education: Principles and
practice

230pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £17.95
(paperback, £8.95).

0710204116

DIETMAR ROTHERMUND and JOHN SIMON
Education and the Integration of Ethnic
Minorities

225pp. Frances Pinter. £22.50.
086187613X

As both these books bring out, there is a paradox at the heart of most of the arguments for multicultural education in our democracy. If, ideally, a multicultural policy were effective in serving the needs of all children in a plural society, that society might lose its cohesive force: success might lead to anarchy and breakdown. Yet our deeply embedded liberal tradition asks that we respect the rights and values of each individual, whatever his or her background, race, class or colour.


In many ways, the current anti-racist controversy in British education hinges on these kinds of problem. Those who support a multicultural policy have been condemned for having a folkloric, patronizing attitude towards minority cultures; such a policy can only disguise more serious failings in a system which is racist in its very structure. The anti-racist approach, by contrast, stresses the need for an

active, more explicitly political confrontation. It is not enough to change the curriculum and develop more open-minded attitudes in schools among pupils, staff and their employers, if the forces controlling such institutions remain fundamentally racist.

James Lynch confronts these problems and also points out that Britain is still a relatively young multicultural society: "Whilst the cultural mosaic has been formed of a linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity over centuries, the 'Multicultural' identity has only developed in the decades since the Second World War." His book represents the views of those educationists who are attempting to correct the previously one-sided, negative arguments that have been used; by such writers as Maureen Stone and Madan Sarup. It is in four parts: "Goals and Concepts", "Policy and Practice", "Children and Teachers" and finally "Strategies for Change". The first section succinctly outlines the background to current multicultural ideas from an international perspective; the second examines official policy at both local and national levels; the third explores the "hidden curriculum" and the complex inter-relationships between school and community, making the important point that plurality should be reflected in the classroom as well as through the practice of "mutual acculturation". Finally, in his basic agenda for reform, Lynch stresses the urgent need for a charter of human rights to be passed in the United Kingdom if a "moral baseline" is to be maintained.

Dietmar Rothmund and John Simon's *Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities* contains essays which illuminate the contrasts in the state of British education. The "integration" of the title may be unacceptable to many, but the situations examined in the eight countries which are considered here are very different. They are mostly societies with a longer history of cultural pluralism than Britain's, and detailed case-studies point to the dilemmas of, for instance, the Chinese in Malaysia, the Koreans in Japan and tribal minorities in Nigeria. Interestingly, many of the difficulties facing these communities can be seen to parallel those raised by Lynch.

Education in many of these countries is clearly an issue in which various racial, cultural and social tensions are involved, but it can also provide a forum for discussion. The question as to how far educational systems are vehicles for "stimulating and affecting social change" or "mechanisms for indoctrination" is not new. However, both books make it plain that change in plural societies cannot come simply from within the schools; for schools alone cannot heal the divisions of societies that have generated both the dilemmas and the educational system itself.



**A CALL FOR
AN END TO
UNJUST RACE**

edited by
**ALLAN BOESAK &
CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO**

In Soweto, South Africa, 16 June 1976, 700 people were killed and hundreds were wounded in that country's most potent symbol of black resistance to the inhuman system of apartheid.

A Call For An End To Unjust Race contains the primary documents chronicling the rationale for the then unprecedented call to prayer – 16 June 1983 – and the fierce and reactions that followed from the Press, the Church, and from the government.

192pp. 0 7152 0594 3 £3.25

The Solid Andrew Press
121 George Street Edinburgh EH2 4VN
Telephone 011 725 5922

parisons. The West, in particular, has come to be seen by so many would-be nations of the Third World as the standard against which to evaluate their own achievements and potential. "Against which" sums up the ambivalence of this response, especially on the part of the intelligentsia in many developing nations, but it is directed at the power and wealth of the West, not at the form in which these have appeared. The "nation-state" has become a universal model, and the territorial, civic nation the desirable new form of socialization. Any community that aspires to become a "nation" must therefore assume some, at least, of the characteristics of the Western nations.

This poses problems for the new states of Africa and Asia, as it once did in Eastern Europe. Most states of the world today are plural; they are composed of different *ethnie*, brought together by the chances of conquest, dynastic alliance or migration. The "nation-state" model means either setting up a new state for each *ethnie*, or somehow amalgamating diverse *ethnie* into a political community; as in Switzerland or India. The latter course is as fraught with problems as the former. For *ethnie* are not easily melted down, and the attempt to unite them in a common citizenship often awakes previously dormant sentiments and aspirations. So the use of Western nation-states as a model actually serves to divide *ethnie*, as each begins to measure its own status and potential in "Western" terms.

Not is this the only invidious comparison. The newly native *ethnie* may feel backward by comparison with its more Westernized neighbours. To counterbalance which sense of inferiority its leaders may hark back to memories of a former grandeur when their kings ruled a large area or their sages promulgated advanced legislation. In Ceylon (as it then was), the Buddhist revival in the early part of this century recalled the former days of Sinhalese glory, and used the antiquity of the Sinhalese pedigree and settlement in the island to counteract Tamil claims. Similarly, the humiliations inflicted by colonialism on the Arabs were countered by claims of Arab ascendancy in cultural achievements like science and egalitarianism in the days of Unayyid or Abbasid splendour. These comparisons are not just consolations, they are also spurs to ethnic revival and national awakening.

A third reason is nationalism itself. While movements in defence of the *ethnie* can be

found in every period of history, nationalism as a self-conscious ideology is a child of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. So, too, is the idea that the "nation" can legitimate social and political change, and that, in its name, governments and ruling classes can be overthrown and replaced by more "representative" ones. The example of this movement is not lost upon even the most isolated and backward of *ethnie*: Shan and Nagas, Eritreans and Saharais, Moros and Achinese, have all raised the banner of ethnic revolt in the name of an incipient nationalism. Once again, nationalism has promoted ideas of the homogeneity and sovereignty of a territorially demarcated citizenry among each of the state's self-defined *ethnie*.

Finally, there is the international framework and its impact on ethnic aspirations: not only the many ways in which greater and lesser powers fish in the troubled waters of ethnicity, but also the role of competition between states in generating ethnic conflicts. This takes several forms. The first is by pressurizing individual states to present a homogenized population to the outside world so that its power and standing are enhanced. Or it may invoke an economic form. At the international level the division of labour tends to favour those *ethnie* within a state that can best meet the needs of international capitalism; and here certain *ethnie* may have skills that are better suited. A colonialism that tended to classify populations in ethnic terms singled out those communities with particular economic or military skills, like the Ibo or Sikhs, and these classifications have tended to perpetuate themselves.

It may also take a military form. Some states find themselves in more or less open conflict with their neighbours, in which certain of their *ethnie* become more involved than others; or the whole population is affected by the prospect or chance of war, as for example in Cyprus between Greeks and Turks. Finally, the much publicized desire of some *ethnie* like the Kurds and Ibo to secede and form states of their own (rarely successful to date) sets the system of states on a potential collision course, with many other *ethnie* waiting in the wings should any of their number succeed.

Ethnicity is not about populations or biology as such; it depends on the myths, symbols, memories and values shared by populations about themselves and about others, but especially about their ancestry and destiny. Evan-



William Blake's engraving "Europe supported by Africa and America" was commissioned by J. G. Stedman for the final page of his book *Narrative of a five years' expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796); it is reproduced here from *Sweat and Power: The place of sugar in modern history* by Sidney W. Mintz (274pp. Viking, £14.95, 0 670 68702 2), which will be reviewed in the TLS shortly.

the term "race", with its stress on genetics, really depends on popular assumptions about biological differences between collectivities. With ethnicity, it is cultural and historical differences that matter, and the sense of belonging and identity stemming from the myths of descent by which communities grasp their place in the world, their entitlements and their

destinies. Paradoxically, it is in the modern world of reason and science that these myths of ethnocestry flourish most. For modern conditions may mobilize formerly passive populations whose myths and historic memories provide the moulds into which their passions and aspirations can then pour with such devastating political effect.

New World with the motherland, but it would fill real entrepreneurial needs both in Africa and the Caribbean. In British West Africa, where the idea was not new, a black-owned shipping line would break the monopoly of the Elder Dempster line, which discriminated against black businessmen. In the Caribbean it would provide passenger space for blacks who were being increasingly subjected to segregationist practices by the white-owned lines. The enterprise failed not only because "business judgment was sacrificed to the political need to own and operate ships" but because it was undercapitalized. Garvey's success in gaining the support of working class blacks who had immigrated to the industrial cities of the north during the war marked a new departure in black political organization. But "political goals were often subordinated to business calculations", and in the end he could not, as Stein puts it, permanently mobilize working class blacks behind what were essentially elite goals. Nor, with the onset of the 1920-21 depression, were they so ready to respond to fund-raising appeals on what were essentially racial, rather than economic, grounds. Garvey's claim that the Black Star Line was "owned by the people and is a movement for the people" was not quite convincing.

In Africa, plans for its "regeneration" by blacks of the New World met with suspicion, particularly in Liberia, where the local elites were prepared to accept technical assistance and capital from the UNIA, but only on their own terms. They were not about to be supplanted by another immigrant elite. As the Sierra Leonean, George O. Marko (one of the many UNIA officials who Stein revealingly portrays) made clear, "the American and West-

Indian Negroes could control things on their side of the water; we Africans will run things over here".

Despite the excitement of the "horse-loy" in Northern Nigeria, Garvey's real concern, Stein argues, were those of the élite, not those of the black working class or the farmer. Garveyism was much stronger in West Africa, where there was an indigenous entrepreneurial class, than in East Africa where the small-scale businessmen were Asians. His role as a mass leader was thus a transient one. But his idealism lived on. They inspired nationalist leaders of a later generation, such as Nkrumah of Ghana, who named his merchant fleet the Black Star Line and had a black star in the centre of his national flag.

In spite of the wide range of sources indicated by Stein's footnotes - irritatingly, there is no bibliography - she claims that the "absence of a full set of raw materials for biography and history makes sound scholarship on Garvey and the UNIA difficult". The Justice Department seized and subsequently destroyed UNIA records, while many of Garvey's personal papers were lost in the Second World War during the London blitz. Even so, the activities of few black leaders of this period are as richly documented as those of Garvey, whose papers along with those of UNIA are being collected and edited in a two-volume set by Robert A. Hill and others. The fourth volume covers the year in which the fortunes of the UNIA declined and Garvey himself was indicted. Beautifully produced, and sensitively edited, it is a rich mine for the student of pan-Africanist movements, as well as of the complex racial situation in the United States of the day.

More than Marxist

Chinweizu

EMMANUEL NGARA
Art and Ideology in the African Novel
126pp. Heinemann, £6.95.
0 435 91721 8

African Marxist critics often display towards African writers the frustrations of a sergeant-major. However, their charges that the writers are "bourgeois" and lack "commitment" seldom make clear the source of the friction between them. One of the merits of Emmanuel Ngara's *Art and Ideology in the African Novel* is that, without setting out to do so, it exposes the root cause of that friction.

Ngara's examination of the African novel in the light of Marxist aesthetic theory makes two things clear. First, Marxism has had little influence on contemporary African literature, for only a handful of literary works satisfy Marxist criteria for socialist art. Second, Marxist aesthetic theories have little to offer for the study of African literary style, which is why Ngara has to resort to non-Marxist stylistic criticism to evaluate the work of African novelists. In Part One of his book, Ngara distils from the pronouncements of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Gorky, Mao, Lukács, Caudwell and Eagleton several criteria for determining the socialist character of literary works. These are, that a book must have as its theme some kind of class struggle (for instance, col-

lective bargaining between proletarians and their exploiters, the development of proletarian or peasant revolutionary consciousness, armed struggle); it should deal with the plight of the working class, not that of a race or nation; it should espouse proletarian internationalism, promote egalitarianism, prefigure and enthuse about the coming of socialism; and so on. Stylistically, it should restrict itself to critical realism (the truthful portrayal of typical characters in typical circumstances, particularly in the manner of Tolstoy or Balzac), and to socialist realism as outlined by Gorky and Zhdanov.

Unsurprisingly, few works of African literature succeed in so severely restricting their themes and techniques as to satisfy these criteria. Having, in Part Two of his book, examined the works of Achebe, Ngugi, Armah, Sembene, Mailu, La Guma, Gordimer and others, Ngara concludes that only a handful of African literary works qualify as socialist art. The rest, even those by admittedly radical African writers, fail the test for such assorted blemishes as liberalism, nationalism, pan-Africanism, racial consciousness and indulgence in metaphoric and mythic realism. Most African writers are unwilling to play down, or avoid altogether such crucial aspects of human reality as sex, race, nation, or personal ambition. In illuminating anti-imperialism, ethnic rifts, corruption, unstable nation states, false versions of history, or the murderous ambition of rulers, most African writers feel obliged to employ any techniques they find service-

AMONG THIS WEEK'S CONTRIBUTORS

Mark Abley's *Beyond Forgetting: Rediscovering the prairies* will be published this autumn.

Benedict Anderson is the author of *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the origin and spread of nationalism*, 1983.

Michael Banton is Professor of Sociology at the University of Bristol and author of *Racial and Ethnic Competition*, 1983. He is a member of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. C.A. Bayly is Senior Reader in Commonwealth Studies at the University of Cambridge. His *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaar: North India in the age of British expansion*, 1983, will be reissued in paperback later this year.

Alfred Brendel, the pianist, is the author of *Musical Thoughts and Afterthoughts*, published in 1976.

Hugh Brogan's *History of the United States of America* was published last year.

J.W. Burrow is Professor of History at the University of Sussex. His *A Liberal Descent: Historians and the English past* was published in 1981.

A.S. Byatt's most recent novel is *Still Life*, 1985.

James Campbell's *Gale Fever: Voices from a prison* was published recently.

Chinweizu is co-author of *Towards the Decolonization of African Literature*, 1980.

Nigel Clive's *A Greek Experience 1943-1948* was published last year.

Jim Crace's *Novel in Seven Parts* will be published this autumn.

Vincent Crapanzano is Professor of Anthropology and Comparative Literature at the City University, New York. His *Writing: The whiteness of South Africa* was published last year.

Michael Crowder is Professor of History at the University of Botswana and Consultant Editor of *History Today*.

Martin Davies is a lecturer in German at the University of Leicester.

Dilip Datta is the author of *Inside India Today*, 1976. His *Iran under the Ayatollahs* appeared last year.

Filippo Delella was formerly Director of the Italian Institute in London.

Duncan Gellie is a Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, and author of *Social Inequality and Class Radicalism in France and Britain*, 1984.

Katherine Duncan-Jones's World's Classics Edition of Sidney's *Old Arcadia* was published last year.

Nathan Glazer, a Professor of Education and Sociology at Harvard University. He is co-editor of *The Public Interest* and the editor, with Daniel P. Moynihan, of *Ethnicity: Theory and experience*, 1975.

Michael Hamburger's *Collected Poems 1941-1983* appeared in 1984. His study of German-language post-war writing, *After the Second Flood*, will be published later this year.

Nicholas Jenkins is an editor of *Oxford Poetry*. He is preparing a critical edition of W.H. Auden's *The Double Man*.

Robert Knight has just completed a study of British policy towards Austria during the years 1945 to 1950.

Gravel Lindsay is a lecturer in English Literature at the University of Manchester. His edition of De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Other Writings* was published last year.

Bernard O'Donoghue's collection of poems, *Razorblades and Pencils*, was published in 1984. He is the author of *The County Love Tradition: Literature in context*, 1983.

P.J. Parrish is Director of the Institute of United States Studies, University of London. He is the author of *The American Civil War, 1975, and Slavery: The many faces of a Southern institution*, 1981.

Richard Proudfoot is Reader in English at King's College London. He is General Editor of the Arden Shakespeare.

John Rex's *Race and Ethnicity* has recently been published. He is co-editor, with David Mason, of *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, which is due to appear this autumn.

Nesta Roberts is a former Health and Welfare Correspondent of the *Guardian* and co-author, with Geoffrey Hale, of *A Doctor in Practice*.

Pat Rogers is Professor of English at the University of Bristol and editor of *The New Oxford Illustrated History of English Literature*, which will be published next year.

Peter Sherwood is a lecturer at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.

Anthony D. Smith is a Reader in Sociology at the London School of Economics and the author of *The Ethnic Revival*, 1981. His *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* will be published this autumn.

Richard Stangham Smith is a lecturer in Music at the City University.

David Stevenson is Director of the Centre for Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen. His *The Scottish Origins of Freemasonry* will be published next year.

John Stone is Editor of the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. His *Racial Conflict in Contemporary Society* was published last year.

Ned Thomas is a lecturer in English at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and editor of the magazine *Planes: The Welsh Internationalist*.

Angel Vinas teaches at the University of Madrid and is an adviser to the Spanish Foreign Ministry. Dennis Walder is author of *Dickens and Religion*, 1981, and *Alcohol Fugard*, 1984. His *Ted Hughes* will be published shortly.

Peter Williams is the founder of the Center for Performance Practices Studies at Duke University, North Carolina. He is the author of the three-volume *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach*, 1980 and 1984.

Phyllis Willmet's autobiographical study of the 1930s, *A Green Girl*, was published in 1983.

Blair Worden is a Fellow of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, and the author of *The Rump Parliament*, 1974.

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Economics of the British Book Trade, 1605-1939, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (231pp. Cambridge: Cawdwyck-Healey, £25, 0 85964 169 4), is the first in a new occasional series that will accompany the journal *Publishing History*. It prints the papers delivered at the sixth University of London Extra-Mural Department annual conference on book trade history.

On the racial agenda

Michael Crowder

JUDITH STEIN
The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and class in modern society
294pp. Louisiana State University Press \$22.50.
0 8071 1256 4

ROBERT A. HILL, EMORY J. TOLBERT and DEBORAH FORECEK (Editors)
The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers
Vol IV
1125pp. University of California Press. £32.75.
0 520 05446 6

In 1920, his last year as a District Officer in Northern Nigeria, Joyce Cary recalled that the local Emir had arrested a "horse-boy" on a charge of sedition. "He had been telling the local pagans, wild islanders, that a black king was coming, with a great iron ship full of the black soldiers, to drive whites out of Africa". News clearly travelled fast in the African bush of those days, for it was only in that year that the Jamaican Marcus Garvey proclaimed himself Provisional President of Africa, and only the year before that he commissioned the first ship of his Black Star Line. He never did visit the continent to whose rulership he pretended and which, he told the members of his Universal Negro Improvement Association in New York, "shall be for the black people of the world". The other races have countries of their own and it is time for the 400,000,000 Negroes to claim Africa for themselves. His political career ended soon afterwards in debt and the disgrace of imprisonment for attempt-

ing to defraud the US Mails. But as did many African leaders after him, Garvey found that government prosecution made "the cause more saintly to the people". A large number of books and articles have already been published about Marcus Garvey and his UNIA, the largest international movement of black people ever created. Judith Stein's elegant study is nevertheless welcome, for she adds a new dimension to our understanding of Garveyism by seeking to explain the social basis of its support in the New World and Africa. Garveyism, as Stein makes clear from the outset, was not an ideology of escape for blacks of the New World to a psychological or real Africa. It was an attempt to solve the economic, political and cultural problems of black life in the aftermath of the First World War. For this reason she argues that an analysis of the different classes within the black communities best explains its appeal. She correctly sees that the black élites of the New World, whether of the mainland USA or Garvey's own Caribbean, shared with their African counterparts a faith in the institutions of capitalist Western society. Denied access to them by racial discrimination, they set about creating such institutions for themselves, whether schools, pressure groups, businesses or intellectual societies. Garvey accepted this racial agenda and set about implementing it at a most propitious time: race riots, lynchings, discrimination in the US army had persuaded many blacks that their best course was self-reliance.

Garvey's attempt, for a time successful, to enlist the masses behind this elite model of progress was new. His choice of enterprise - a shipping line - was an inspired one. Not only would it symbolically link the blacks of the